DISESTABLISHMENT IN FRANCE

PAUL SABATIER

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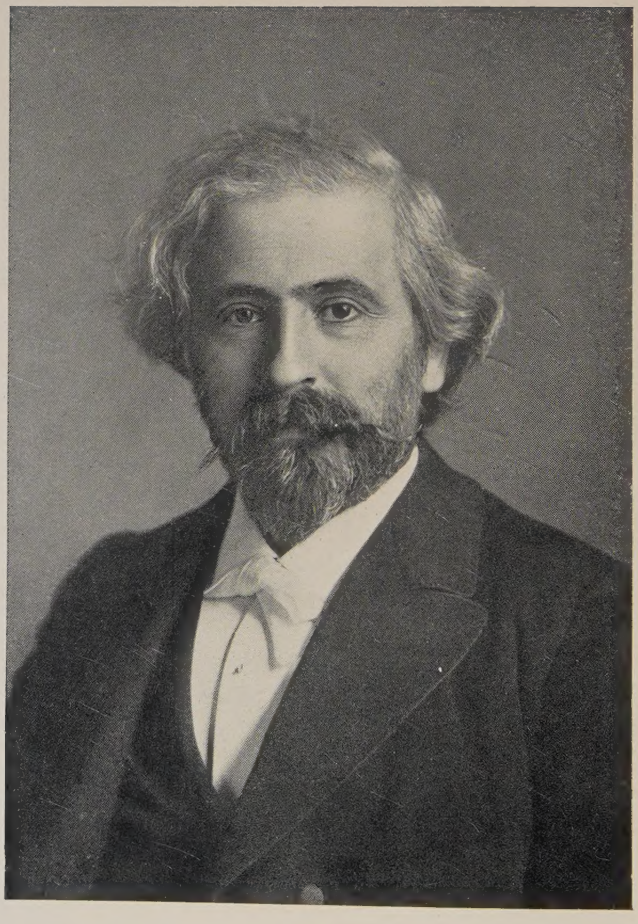

Paul Sabatier

(From a Photograph by Elliott & Fry.)

DISESTABLISHMENT IN FRANCE

By

PAUL SABATIER

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF ST FRANCIS OF ASSISI," ETC.

WITH A PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR, ROBERT DELL,

AND THE

FRENCH-ENGLISH TEXT OF THE SEPARATION LAW, WITH NOTES

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DISESTABLISHMENT IN FRANCE

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

MUCH has been written in England about the Separation of the Churches and the State in France, but many of the articles on the subject have been the work of Englishmen possessing but a slender knowledge of the facts of the case, and a very imperfect sympathy with the French character and ideas. No apology, therefore, is needed for the presentation to English readers of a study of the question by a Frenchman, particularly when that Frenchman is one so well known and so universally respected in this country as M. Paul Sabatier. It would be impossible to find in France a man better qualified by his detachment from party politics, by his keen historical sense, and by his wide and generous sympathies, to deal with a matter that has excited so much feeling. M. Sabatier is not a Catholic; but

no Catholic could have a more profound knowledge of the internal economy of the Catholic body, or more sympathy with all that is making for progress within the Catholic Church. He is an anti-clerical; but not the most fanatical clerical could accuse the biographer of St Francis of Assisi of being anti-religious; everything that he writes is inspired by an intensity of religious faith (I do not say dogmatic orthodoxy) which few of us can hope to attain. The debt of gratitude which every intelligent Catholic owes already to M. Sabatier is heavily increased by the book which is now presented to English readers.

It will be found that M. Sabatier's account of the circumstances that have led to separation, of the present conditions of the Church in France, and of the probable results of the great change, differs considerably from the views of many of those who have undertaken to instruct the English public on the subject. We have had the question of Separation treated from many points of view, varying from that of the Whig Superior Person,

represented by Mr J. E. C. Bodley,[1] to that of the Anglican-Ultramontane, best represented, perhaps, in certain articles of *The Saturday Review* which read like a more literary and less vulgar echo of the *Croix*. Few, indeed, of those who have spoken on the subject have grasped its true inwardness, or recognised the fact which M. Sabatier so clearly brings out, that Separation was sooner or later inevitable. It has been treated as an accidental result of a temporary quarrel with Rome, or as a measure for the repression of religion forced on an unwilling country by a few Jacobins and Freemasons. The very provisions of

[1] It is not unfair to recall the fact that in the Preface (dated "Easter Eve 1899") to the Second Edition of his "France," Mr Bodley foretold the imminent downfall of the Republic. Never was prophecy more completely falsified. The mistake should suggest caution in accepting Mr Bodley's view that the separation of the Churches and the State is a mere accident, and that the French nation is quite indifferent to it; particularly since Mr Bodley is not always accurate in regard to facts. In a lecture recently delivered to the Royal Institution, he stated that no association is "permitted to exist" in France "without the authorisation of the Government, which can at any time dissolve it." This statement—which would apply to the *associations cultuelles* created by the Separation Law—is quite erroneous. (See Appendix I., p. 157.)

the law itself have been travestied in such a way as to give an entirely erroneous conception of its nature. One of the leading London daily papers — a paper among the few which still adhere to the best traditions of the English press—published in December a leading article on the Separation Law, in which every single statement made about the provisions of the law was inaccurate in some particular. It would seem that, in spite of the *Entente Cordiale*, we have not yet shaken off that insularity which makes so many Englishmen incapable of realising the point of view of other nations, and apparently even unwilling to take the trouble to inform themselves accurately about the conditions existing in foreign countries.

The text of the Separation Law, both in the original French and in an English translation, will be found in the first appendix to the present volume, so that readers can judge for themselves whether or not M. Sabatier is justified in describing it as a liberating measure. Those who read through the law will find that it repeals every exist-

ing restriction on religious liberty without exception, and that the few regulations which it enacts are not of a character to interfere with freedom in religious matters. The associations for the practice of religion which the law creates are given certain rights and privileges not accorded to other *associations déclarées*. The restrictions on their accumulation of capital may not be in accordance with English ideas, but the matter has to be judged, not from an English, but from a French point of view, and these provisions are entirely in accordance with the spirit of the whole French law. Whether or not it is desirable to leave associations and institutions as free from all control of the State as they are in England is a matter into which this is not the place to enter; but it may be surmised from the extent to which land, on the one hand, is passing in Canada and Ireland into the hands of unproductive communities, and the foundation of bogus charitable institutions, on the other, has become in England a favourite occupation of the swindler, that the question

is not one which can be decided off-hand. Much has been made of the provisions of Articles 26, 34 and 35, which forbid the use of places of worship for political meetings, and impose penalties on ministers of religion who in such places insult or defame public officials, or incite their congregations to illegality or sedition. The first of these provisions has a parallel in English law, and cannot be called unreasonable in view of the fact that the churches that are by law public property are handed over to the religious bodies permanently and free of charge. Nor do the other two provisions seem excessively severe. Ministers of religion are given special privileges in their churches; they may not be interrupted whatever they say, and it is a legal offence even to express dissent from their remarks. It is a reasonable argument that this privilege should be used only for the purpose for which it is granted, and that ministers of religion should not be allowed to take advantage of their privileged position to inflict an insulting attack on the Govern-

ment of their country on an audience which is forbidden to dissent from it. Neither the Protestants nor the Jews have made any objection to these provisions; those who object to them thereby proclaim their desire to insult and defame public officials from the pulpit or the altar, and to incite their congregations to sedition and illegal action.

It will be seen that M. Sabatier takes an optimistic view of the future of religion in France. We may safely follow him in that view; but we must be careful not to draw conclusions against which he expressly guards. M. Sabatier does not tell us that the Catholicism of to-morrow is going to win an immediate triumph inside the French Church. On the contrary, he foresees that for some years to come the French Church is likely to be more than ever dominated by the "insolent and aggressive faction," to use Newman's words, which has during the past century brought disgrace and ruin upon Catholicism. Everything points to that conclusion, much as one would like to hope the contrary. There is no sign that the

responsible authorities either in Rome or in France have learned anything from the experience of the past. There is, on the contrary, every reason to fear that the free hand which Separation gives to Rome will be used to carry to still further lengths the old policy of fostering superstition and repressing initiative and intellectual life. When Pius IX. declared that the Roman Church could not come to terms with "progress, liberalism, and modern civilisation,"[1] he was not so much enunciating a doctrine as stating a fact. The principles and ideals of Vaticanism — of the existing official Roman Church — are wholly at variance with those of modern philosophy, modern science, modern criticism and modern democracy. There can be no reconciliation until the world ceases to move or the official Church consents to do so. The history of the Church shows that Catholicism as such is incompatible with no stage in human progress; and the claim of

[1] See the *Syllabus* of condemned propositions attached to the Encyclical *Quanta Cura* of Pius IX., Proposition 80.

the Catholic Church is a valid one only if Catholicism be the expression of the religious consciousness of the human race, or the nearest possible approach to such expression. But Vaticanism conceives of the Catholic Church as an exclusive international sect, confined for ever to the ideas of the thirteenth century.

The recent papal Encyclical *Vehementer nos* addressed to the French bishops is a striking illustration of that fact. The "rights" that the Pope claims for the Church (that is, for all practical purposes, the Papacy) are in substance those claimed by Boniface VIII. in his famous Constitution *Unam Sanctam* of 1303. Those "rights"—which may be summed up in the dictum of Boniface VIII., "The temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power"—are incompatible, not merely with democracy but with any sort of civil autonomy: they involve a pure theocracy. The Pope's objection to the Separation Law has little to do with its actual provisions; it is primarily an objection in principle to a regime of religious toleration, liberty and

equality, in which the Roman Catholic Church has the same rights and liberties as other religious bodies, no more and no less. It applies, then, with no less force to England than to France, and the inference is inevitable that the Papacy tolerates the position of the Roman Catholic Church in this country, only because and so long as Roman Catholics are in a small minority.[1] Until the principles of the Encyclical *Vehementer nos* are abandoned by the Papacy, the fear of "papal aggression" cannot be considered groundless, though present circumstances in England do not make it a matter of practical importance, since the Catholic body in this country is making no appreciable headway. In thus claiming for the Catholic Church the right to be placed by the State in a privileged position, Pius X. does but follow his three immediate predecessors. Gregory XVI., Pius IX., and Leo XIII. all explicitly condemned religious tolera-

[1] A pastoral by Mgr. Bonomelli, Bishop of Cremona, the thesis of which was merely that the Separation of Church and State is better as a rule in existing conditions, and that the Catholic Church has nothing to fear from a regime of liberty, was condemned by the Pope immediately after its publication (February 1906).

tion and the system of a "free Church in a free State." Just as Pius X. declares that the Church is "persecuted," because it is deprived of privilege and domination, so did Leo XIII. declare it to be an outrage on the Papacy that the Italian Government tolerated Protestant chapels and societies in Rome.[1] So did Pius IX. anathematise those who deny that "the Catholic religion is to be recognised as the sole religion of the State to the exclusion of all others."[2] Cardinal Mathieu is reported to have hailed the author of the Encyclical *Vehementer nos* as a second Hildebrand. It may respectfully be doubted whether the part is one peculiarly suited to his Holiness; and, besides, it is a little out of date. The French Republic will never go to Canossa; and the enemies of the Church in France have received with joyous hilarity a pronouncement which supplies them with one more argument for their contention that the Roman Church is a standing menace to civil autonomy, and a potential danger to

[1] Address to an English pilgrimage, January 1901.
[2] See the *Syllabus*, Proposition 77.

every civilised State. Should the Pope—as one cannot believe will be the case—put his principles into practice and call on French Catholics to rebel against their country, the result will be the same as was the result in England of the similar policy of Pius V. Rome will lose France for ever.

It would seem, then, to be inevitable that the official Church should sooner or later come into conflict with every democratic State. If Pius X. lays the tiara at the feet of an heretical and schismatic emperor, it is not because he is Pope "by the grace of God and the favour of William II.," but rather because the Vatican, ever leaning on the arm of flesh, finds its natural ally in Prussian Cæsarism, in the only effective autocracy left in Europe—the Tsar and the Sultan being but broken reeds.

The scandal that this unholy alliance has caused to intelligent French Catholics (as M. Sabatier points out) is equalled by the shame with which they see marks of favour showered on the men who were responsible for the epidemic of diabolism which dragged

the name of Catholic in the mire.[1] One of Léo Taxil's dupes is now the papal Secretary of State. Another, who was more active and no less prominent in his way, was one of the first French priests honoured by the present Pope, received an honorary degree from a Catholic university, enjoys the special confidence of his bishop, and edits the official diocesan magazine of Cambrai.[2] In Appendix II. (page 169) will be found some extracts from recent numbers of that magazine which may help to explain to the English public why the French people is estranged from the Church. Perhaps nothing has contributed more to that estrangement than the glaring contrast between the immunity given by the ecclesiastical authorities to every form of superstition, and the severity with which the same authorities visit any attempt to make Catholicism intelligible to the modern mind. The preposterous *cultus* of "St Expédit" (a gentleman who apparently originated in a pun) and of St Anthony of Padua, whose popularity arises from the fact that they are

[1] See pages 76-84. [2] See page 119, footnote 1.

supposed to be universal providers, not of spiritual blessings, but of temporal advantages; the grossly materialistic development of the once symbolical and mystical devotion to the Sacred Heart, based on "revelations" which have only to be compared with the Gospels to make their unreality glaring:[1] these and other manifestations of a religious mentality hardly more exalted than that of a savage are enough to revolt, as they have revolted, the majority of men not only in France but also in almost every Catholic country. But

[1] The broad difference between the representation of our Lord in the Gospels and that in the Revelations of Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque is the difference between simplicity and vulgarity. Some of the utterances put into our Lord's mouth in the Revelations are nauseous, others are at variance with the whole spirit of the Gospels (see page 70). Among other promises attributed to our Lord in the Revelations is one that any one who receives the Holy Communion on the first Friday of nine successive months shall not die without the last Sacraments, and shall infallibly be saved!

The present development of the *cultus* of the Sacred Heart approaches perilously near to one of the early heresies. The Sacred Heart is now completely personified, and is practically the Fourth Person of the Trinity. Popular prayers and hymns speak of the voice, hands, feet, face and mind of the Sacred Heart. A Jesuit Father, preaching at Wimbledon a few years ago, said, in the course of his sermon, "Nothing, dear brethren, could be more painful to the heart of the Sacred Heart than," etc. The *cultus* also takes other forms, perhaps even more strange. In at least one French convent—for all I know, in

even they are nothing compared to the fact that, after every Low Mass throughout Catholic Christendom, a prayer is said which was first ordered by Leo XIII. in 1886 to support Léo Taxil's anti-masonic agitation, and remains a standing witness to the fact that the official Church was hopelessly committed to belief in a hoax which would not have taken in an intelligent child educated anywhere but in a clerical school.[1] Can any rational person — be he Catholic or not—

many others—it is customary for the nuns to preface conversations and begin letters with the remark, "Let us make an appointment to meet in the Sacred Heart"; and I am assured by French Catholics that this is a common cant phrase of the *dévotes*.

Probably the rapid growth of the *cultus* of the Sacred Heart may be in part explained—and excused—as a reaction against the Monophysite tendency of current orthodoxy, and in particular of the theological schools.

[1] This prayer is as follows:

"Holy Michael Archangel, defend us in the day of battle; be our safeguard against the wickedness and snares of the devil—may God rebuke him, we humbly pray; and do thou, Prince of the heavenly host, thrust down to hell Satan and all wicked spirits who wander through the world for the ruin of souls. Amen."

Leo XIII. had already, in his Encyclical against Freemasonry of 20th April 1884, specially recommended prayer to St Michael as a specific against the "Sect of Satan." That Encyclical really started the anti-masonic campaign, and sowed the seeds of the Satanist superstition, of which Léo Taxil reaped the harvest.

deny that there is something radically wrong with a system which produces such fruits as these?

If the present Pope has thus, like his immediate predecessor, encouraged superstitions and devotional novelties he has shown no such tenderness towards new modes of thought and intellectual developments. In that regard, indeed, he has gone back on the later policy of Leo XIII., who refused to condemn the Abbé Loisy, or the critical movement of which he is the leading representative in the Catholic Church. Pius X. condemned M. Loisy and the critical movement within four months of his accession; he has since packed the Biblical Commission with ecclesiastics of reactionary tendencies possessing no special knowledge of biblical questions; has dismissed Friar David Fleming, O.F.M., from the secretaryship of that Commission, and replaced him by a fanatical obscurantist; and has crowned his work by placing at the head of the Commission — Cardinal Merry del Val! The Commission, which was appointed by Leo

XIII. to deal with biblical questions from the expert standpoint, has thus become a second Inquisition, presided over by a quondam follower of Léo Taxil. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that we are shortly to have a new *Syllabus* of condemned propositions taken from the works of M. Loisy and other neo-Catholic writers. Such a document has been in preparation for quite two years, and it is probable that its publication has been suspended only because it was thought desirable to wait until French Separation was an accomplished fact. Now that that is the case, semi-official announcements of the impending publication have appeared in the Catholic press in France, England and other countries. When it is remembered that M. Loisy's submission to the decree which placed his works on the Index—a submission in which historical independence was carefully guarded — has never been formally accepted, it will be recognised that the situation is grave. The "young Catholics" will never voluntarily leave the Church, but if they are forced to choose

between excommunication and repudiation of the critical method with its established results, there can be only one choice for any honest man. For the sake of religion in France and elsewhere, it is earnestly to be hoped that that choice will not be thrust upon them by rulers who cannot discern the signs of the times; but it would be futile to ignore the danger that it may. In any case, it is almost impossible to hope that the immediate result of Separation will not be to place the French Church more than ever in the hands of the extreme Ultramontane party, backed by all the power of Rome.

Nevertheless, it is still possible to be optimistic for the future, not, indeed, of Vaticanism, but of Catholicism. The neo-Catholic movement is sure of ultimate victory for the very reason that it is in line with all the best tendencies of the age. Its triumph is as certain as was that of the Aristotelian philosophy when popes and theologians unanimously condemned it, and the works of Aristotle were burned by the common hangman; or that of the Copernican astronomy

when the Inquisition declared that it was "absurd and false in philosophy and formally heretical." Apparently Galileo did not say, "*Eppur si muove*"; but there have been many papal condemnations in history besides his own to which the rejoinder is exactly appropriate, and the condemnation of M. Loisy by Pius X. is one of them. The triumph of neo-Catholicism may come only after the Roman Catholic Church in France, and in many other countries, has been reduced to the proportions of an insignificant sect, wholly out of touch with the rest of the nation; but come it will. And it should be the hope of all who have at heart the progress of Christianity that the rulers of the Roman Catholic Church will not repeat the criminal folly of the rulers of the Synagogue. Protestantism has not the smallest chance of obtaining any effective hold on France any more than on Spain or Italy. M. Sabatier's decided opinion on this point is also that of another non-Catholic Frenchman, M. Paul Desjardins (the founder of the *Libres Entretiens*),[1] who, in his admir-

[1] See page 133.

able little book, "Catholicisme et Critique,"[1] says :—

"Car d'observer si le christianisme catholique, forme probablement unique où nous puissions, en Occident, en France, réaliser une cité des esprits, va glisser à la superstition populaire, ou bien remonter à la vie intellectuelle originale —cette incertitude nous touche."

The religion of France, then, depends on Catholicism, and many will suffer if the reconciliation of Catholicism and modern civilisation is brought about only—as there is too much reason to fear will be the case—after the Ultramontanes and the fanatics have had their way unchecked in the French Church, and have brought it to the inevitable ruin that awaits a policy of ignorant pride and blind obstinacy.

Many lessons may be drawn by English readers from M. Sabatier's book. We have reached a turning point in English politics. For the first time it would seem that this

[1] Paris : aux bureaux des *Libres Entretiens*, 1905 (2 fr. net), page 5.

country, which has been for twenty years potentially a democracy, is about to become one actually. We stand politically much where France stood in 1871. When every allowance has been made for differences of training and temperament, it remains probable that the evolution of democracy in Great Britain will follow on the whole the same general lines as in France. In particular it may be taken as almost certain that the democracy will be anti-clerical, or—shall we say?—"*laïque*." Whether and how far anti-clericalism will develop into opposition to this or that Church or even to religion depends on the Churches themselves. The English democracy can hardly resist the natural and inevitable tendency to differentiate between the functions of Church and State —what is called in France the "laïcisation" of the State—with its necessary corollary, the cessation of State "establishment" of religion. If the members of the Church of England are wise they will learn from the mistakes of the Church in France to be ready for that change when it comes; or—which would be

wisest of all—they will themselves prepare it. Freedom will be cheaply purchased even at some pecuniary sacrifice, and the fetters of establishment in England are even more galling and degrading than were those of the Concordat in France, where at any rate the creeds, liturgy and worship of the Church were not at the mercy of Parliament.

May the English clergy of every communion also learn from the experience of France the fatal folly of clerical interference in politics. Indeed the lesson may be learnt nearer home; the Church of England has suffered irretrievable losses by her identification in the past with the Conservative party. But the remedy is not to identify her with some other party—still less to form a "Church" party, most fatal mistake of all. Dr Clifford telegraphing quasi-apostolic benedictions to Liberal candidates would be as distasteful to French Republicans (and as fatal to the success of the candidates whom he patronised) as is a country *curé* declaring from the altar that those who vote for the Radical candidate will

be damned.[1] And, so soon as the English democracy has freed itself from leading strings and become conscious of itself and its powers, such interference will be resented in this country. For the assumption underlying such

[1] It is a great mistake to suppose that clericalism is to be found only among Catholics and High Churchmen. It is, on the contrary, very prevalent among English Nonconformists in various forms. One of the most thoroughly clericalist movements that we have had in England for a long time was that of "Passive Resistance"; it was also essentially anti-democratic, as was shown by the unconstitutional appeal to the King to override the representatives of the people. If individual citizens were allowed to refuse to pay taxes because they disapproved of this or that purpose to which taxation is applied, government would give place to anarchy, and the very existence of a civilised community would become impossible. Probably the Passive Resisters would admit that fact as a general rule; their action, then, implicitly involved a claim to a special privilege because they had, or thought they had, religious grounds for their objection—in principle the same claim that is made by the Pope and the French clericals. Indeed, "passive resistance" to the Separation Law is exactly what some of the French clericals are advocating in so many words. The rights of conscience ought to be respected, but the consciences of a good many religious people seem to be in a morbidly unhealthy condition; their tendency to whine about "persecution," whenever they are not allowed to disregard the rights of the community as they please, brings religion into contempt. To avoid the suspicion that these remarks are inspired by prejudice or partisan feeling, perhaps it may be well to add that personally I should like to see all State-supported schools placed entirely under public control, all religious tests for teachers (including that involved in the requirement that they shall teach "undenominational" religion) abolished, and the education given at the public expense limited to secular subjects.

interference is that the minister of religion as such is specially qualified to lay down absolutely what is right or wrong in politics. Moreover, there is sure to be the suspicion of ulterior motives, of a desire to promote the interest of some particular Church. In the recent general election two clergymen of the Church of England took a prominent part in the electoral campaign of a Labour candidate in a great midland town. The local correspondent of a leading Church paper thus commented on the fact (the italics are mine):

"The question of the desirability of the clergy taking an active part in political elections is one upon which there may be two opinions; for the Church in —— has suffered considerably in times past from similar action, when that influence was exerted in a contrary direction. But the result of the present clerical action has made this clear: that when the clergy of the Church, by working single-heartedly among the working-classes, gain the confidence of the 'people,' their influence at elections may become a very important factor. *How valuable to the Church such a factor generally employed in an election might prove when Church interests were directly at stake it is not difficult to see.*"

Now, I am convinced from personal knowledge of the two clergymen concerned in this particular case that they were actuated by nothing but a sincere desire to support the political cause in which they believed; nevertheless, they might with advantage reflect on the passage just quoted.

Are we, then, it will be said, to make a sharp cleavage between our religion and our politics, and is religion to have no influence on our lives as a whole? By no means. It is our business to apply our Christian principles to politics as to everything else, and to support what we conscientiously believe to be the right policy, that is, the policy best for the community as a whole. But it is the essence of clericalism to suppose that there can ever be an absolutely right or an absolutely wrong policy, or to assume that a Christian — or a Churchman or a Nonconformist — must or ought to take a particular side on any social, political, or economic question. One man may conscientiously believe that private property in land is bad for the community, another that

it is the best system; two men may agree that existing social conditions are urgently in need of reform, but they may differ entirely as to the best method of reforming them, or even as to whether any reform is possible. A minister of religion has a mission far above party politics: it is his business to appeal to the consciences of men of every shade of political and economic opinion, and he cannot do so if he begins by begging all the questions and assuming that this or that political view is the only moral one. For on no other assumption has he the right to appeal to his flock to take that view. His duty is to insist that every Christian is bound in political matters to support that policy which he conscientiously believes to be best, not for his own individual interests, nor merely for his own class or sect, but for the community as a whole. If the clergy confined themselves to the attempt to get that principle universally recognised and acted upon, they would find their time fully occupied. By attempting to impose a particular application of the principle they only compromise the principle itself and

impair their own influence as religious and moral teachers.

The whole experience of the last thirty-five years in France—and in particular the unfortunate interference of Leo XIII. in French politics[1]—should teach all the clergy of every kind that it will be as fatal a mistake to patronise the nascent English democracy as to ban it. "There can be no question," says a recent Anglican writer for whom I have the greatest possible regard and more, "as to the call that Christ is, in them [*i.e.* the Labour party], making to His Church—to bless, to sympathise, to lead." "To sympathise?" yes, provided the sympathy be not too effusive. "To bless?" possibly, if the blessing be not too unctuous. But "to lead?" certainly not. Such a claim will never be admitted by any real democracy. For democracies do not propose to place themselves under spiritual directors.

One other point in the following book, in which there are so many points worthy of careful attention, may with advantage be

[1] See pages 55-63.

commended to the particular notice of English readers. I mean M. Sabatier's allusion to the alliance between the German Emperor and the Vatican.[1] Nobody could be less chauvinistic than M. Sabatier or more eager for the maintenance of peace among nations. But, like all who do not blind themselves to facts, he sees that so long as the German people remain without any control over, or even any voice in, the foreign policy and external relations of the German Empire, the German Government must be a standing menace to every free and democratic nation. So far as foreign policy is concerned that Government is an autocracy; and autocrats consult first the interests, not of their country, but of their dynasty. Every advance in democracy made in other countries is a menace to Prussian Cæsarism, and it is in the nature of things that Cæsar should make it the chief aim of his policy to sow discord between free nations, and to prevent them from growing strong enough to resist his dictation. The alliance with the

[1] See page 132.

Vatican is equally natural; the cause of civil and of ecclesiastical autocracy is one. The fact of that alliance has as yet hardly been realised in England, though its symptoms are to be seen in almost every country. Not long ago a Milanese paper, called the *Perseveranza*—ably conducted but not widely circulated, and in everything but name a clericalist organ—declared that, if Italy ever had to choose between England and Germany, it was her duty to prefer Germany. That is the policy of the Vatican; not that there is any particular hostility to England, but those who control the Vatican policy see clearly that their last hope is in the German Emperor, who rules Germany with the aid of the clerical Centre. The policy of the present Pope is to create a clerical party in Italy on the lines of the German Centre, in order to offer the monarchy an alliance against the advanced parties. It is most unlikely that the monarchy will accept such compromising aid, and it is certain that the general Italian view in regard to England is very different from that of the Vatican. But it is well to

know how matters stand. As in Italy, so in France, in Holland, in Belgium, the friends of the German Government are mostly to be found among the clericals; in England the Vatican policy has been more cautiously pursued, but certain Catholic writers[1] have done their best (with little or no success) to estrange public feeling from France. It is said that in Berlin there are dreams of a revival of the Holy Roman Empire; perhaps, like Paris, it would be well worth a Mass!

There is no occasion for panic, or even for serious alarm, except on the part of Roman Catholics, who see their Church once more compromised in political intrigue and dragged along a path which leads to certain ruin. The German people already chafe under the clerical yoke, and the days of Prussian autocracy and clerical domination are undoubtedly numbered. Nevertheless, it is most desirable that in this country, as elsewhere, it should be generally understood that Pope and Emperor have united to make

[1] Notably Lord Llandaff, Mr Wilfrid Ward, and the Rev. William Barry, D.D.

a last stand against democracy and progress, and that democratic nations should be on the defensive.

In conclusion, a word or two of explanation may be made as to certain phrases in the translation. I have translated "libre pensée" and "libre penseur" by "free thought" and "free thinker," since there are no other English terms which would convey their meaning. But I would warn the reader against the supposition that these terms, as M. Sabatier uses them, connote any suggestion of atheism or hostility to religion. Again, I have translated the word "laïque" by "lay" in contexts where possibly "secular" might be more accurate, because the term "secular" has come to contain a suggestion of "anti-religious." The phrase "jeunes catholiques" occurs frequently in the book, and I have as a rule retained its literal equivalent in the English in preference to "neo-Catholics," since it may be accounted almost a technical term for the party which it describes. It is hardly necessary to say that there is no reference in it to the age of the individuals

who compose that party. Another technical term, "bonne presse," as applied to the so-called religious press run by the Assumptionists, I have usually left untranslated; it explains itself.

It will be found that there are a few differences from the original French edition, mostly in the form of additions. These have all been made by M. Sabatier himself, with the exception of a few notes enclosed in square brackets, which are mine. For the Appendices I am responsible; but I have to thank M. Léopold Dor (Licencié-ès-Lettres et Avocat au Barreau de Marseille) for his kind help in revising the English text of the Separation Law and the notes thereon.

March 1906.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

SINCE the following pages were written Pope Pius X. has fulminated the condemnation of the Separation Law.[1] It is a literary effort in the grand style, a little unexpected, perhaps, as coming from the pen of a successor of

[1] Encyclical *Vehementer nos*, dated 11th February 1906. It was published both in Latin and in French in the *Osservatore Romano* of 18th February 1906. The following is the text of the condemnation properly so-called :

"Itaque, Apostolici Nostri officii memores, quo sacrosancta Ecclesiae iura a quavis impugnatione defendere ac servare integra debemus, Nos pro suprema, quam obtinemus divinitus, auctoritate, sancitam legem, quae Rempublicam Gallicanam seorsum ab Ecclesia separat, reprobamus ac damnamus ; idque ob eas quas exposuimus causas : quod maxima afficit injuriâ Deum, quem solemniter eiurat, principio declarans Rempublicam cuiusvis religiosi cultus expertem ; quod naturae ius gentiumque violat et publicam pactorum fidem ; quod constitutioni divinae et rationibus intimis et libertati adversatur Ecclesiae ; quod iustitiam evertit, ius opprimendo dominii, multiplici titulo ipsaque conventione legitime quaesitum ; quod graviter Apostolicae Sedis dignitatem ac personam Nostram, Episcoporum Ordinem, Clerum et Catholicos Gallos offendit. Propterea de rogatione, latione, promulgatione ejusdem legis vehementissime expostulamus ; in eaque testamur nihil quidquam inesse momenti ad infirmanda Ecclesiae iura, nulla hominum vi ausuque mutabilia."

St Peter who but lately declared so loudly his desire "*instaurare omnia in Christo.*"[1] We have indeed a restoration here, but a restoration far more reminiscent of Boniface VIII. than of the Master of the Gospels—"meek and lowly of heart."

The impression produced in France by the publication of this document is easy to

"Therefore, being mindful of Our apostolic office, by which we are constrained to defend the sacred rights of the Church from any assault whatsoever and to preserve them in their integrity, We, by the supreme authority committed to Us by God, reprobate and condemn the law now enacted, which separates the French Republic from the Church; and this We do for the reasons which we have set forth: because it inflicts a very great injury on God, whom it solemnly abjures by declaring that the Republic has in principle no part in any religious worship whatsoever; because it violates natural and human rights and the good faith of public treaties; because it is opposed to the divine institution, the essential principles and the liberty of the Church; because it is a subversion of justice in that it suppresses a right of dominion legitimately acquired by manifold titles and even by a convention; because it is a grave offence against the dignity of the Apostolic See and Our own person, and against the episcopal and clerical orders and the Catholics of France. Wherefore We protest with our utmost strength against the introduction, the voting and the promulgation of the said law; and at the same time We declare that no change whatever can avail to weaken the rights of the Church which no human force or daring can alter."

[1] "To restore all things in Christ," Eph. i. 10. Programme of the pontificate of Pius X.; see the Bull *E supremi apostolatus cathedrâ* of 4th October 1903. The complete sentence is as follows: "*in dispensatione plenitudinis temporum, instaurare omnia in Christo quae in caelis et quae in terra sunt in ipso.*"

describe: the extreme Right has received it with noisy and joyous acclamations; the Centre with astonishment and curiosity, the attitude of well-bred persons encountering a procession; the Left again with joy, the joy of soldiers when they meet the enemy sooner than they expected, and notice with satisfaction that he exactly answers to the description that they have been given of him. The chief result of this solemn pronouncement is that from henceforth Pius X. will know his own. He has sifted them out. Hitherto the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion has been reputed to be that of the majority of Frenchmen; but henceforth it will no longer be so. For, if the only true Catholics in our country are those who have applauded the papal encyclical, then Catholics are without question in a very insignificant minority, even if one includes in their number those who swell their ranks, as they themselves loudly declare, as adherents not of religious but of political Catholicism.[1]

[1] Every one knows that one of the results of the Dreyfus affair has been the development of surprising and paradoxical

That France, whose coming victory over the other France is proclaimed by the Vicar of Jesus Christ, is the France represented by the *Autorité*, the *Gaulois*, the *Croix*, the *Gazette de France*, the *Peuple Français*, the *Soleil*, the *Univers et le Monde*, the *Vérité Française*.[1] All these papers have joined as one man in the opinion that the Encyclical *Vehementer nos* puts the new law out of court, and is a formal declaration of war against the work of the representatives of the nation. I trust that these papers, however well qualified they may be to interpret the pontifical mind, are, nevertheless, mistaken; I wish to think that, above the

forms of Catholicism. An eminent Catholic presented to us in the *Univers* so early as 1902 a "clerical atheist" of whom, though he did not precisely make him a Father of the Church, he had many complimentary and flattering things to say such as ecclesiastics do not lavish at random :—

"A kind of lay Benedictine, he is the possessor of a rare erudition, a sincere conscience, a profoundly French soul and the heart of a child. . . . His speciality in unbelief, if I may so express it, is that he asserts himself to be at once atheist and materialist, Catholic and clerical."

But perhaps this form of Catholicism is neither so novel nor so paradoxical as it seems to be? I leave the question to the reader to answer.

[1] See the list of Catholic newspapers in the *Annuaire du Clergé Française* (1904), p. 637.

deafening uproar of a gang of crazy fanatics, Pius X. will be able to distinguish the voice of the real France—the France that thinks and works, and that would regard as an insult to the Pope the mere supposition that from his infallible lips could fall any words but words of peace.

The French Parliament desired to make a law of liberty and independence. The fact that it has succeeded in doing so is proved by the calm and often enthusiastic reception given to the law by the Protestants[1] and the Jews. A revolt of Catholics against the law would lead to only one conclusion, namely, that the Church cannot be contented with the same treatment as other religious bodies, and that

[1] The new law comes much more hardly on the Protestants than on the Catholics, since the former have only a rudimentary organisation, and their adherents have not, like the Catholics, already acquired the habit of contributing to religious expenses in the form of fees. Among the Protestants there is nothing answering to the "honorarium for masses," and the position of the pastors is the more grave from the fact that they have generally large families.

When Catholics say that the salaries paid by the State to the clergy are a national debt contracted by the expropriation of ecclesiastical property at the Revolution and to which the Protestants have no right, they forget the destruction of Protestant chapels and the confiscation of Protestant property that took place at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

she is incapable of accommodating herself to a regime of liberty.

If the Encyclical *Vehementer nos* is meant to be anything more than a declaration of theoretical principles; if it proves to be a statement of what the Apostolic See claims in practice, and is accompanied by an order for the mobilisation of the Catholic forces against a law passed in the regular way: then the people of Germany, of England and of the United States, of Holland and of Sweden, of every country where there is a Catholic minority, will be obliged to say to themselves: "The moment that these men whom we have received as guests feel themselves strong enough, they will rebel against our laws. They will not strive against them as citizens who respect the social compact, and, if they desire their due share of influence, desire only to use legitimate means to obtain it. No; all means that they consider likely to win them a triumph will be legitimate in their eyes. To-morrow, perhaps this very night, the voice of the successor of Peter will be raised to promulgate against us the

Encyclical *Vehementer nos* and to stir up our citizens against the laws of the country."[1]

But we may doubtless put aside such anticipations as these. My excuse for having mentioned them is to be found in the events of the month of February, during which we waited in vain for some one in authority to raise his voice to free the Church from the responsibility of any compromising connection with the parties of disorder.[2] In the early

[1] The very expressions used by Pius X. in his Encyclical recall those of Innocent III. in the Bull *Etsi carissimus* of 23rd August 1215, in which he condemned and anathematised *Magna Charta*. Possibly Pius X. did not think of that precedent.

[2] [Since this was written, Mgr. Lacroix, Bishop of Tarentaise, has issued a pastoral which is one of the most courageous episcopal utterances that France has heard for a long time. Mgr. Lacroix says :

"Our fault, our great fault—we must have the courage to say it—has been our failure, from the earliest days of the Republic, to understand that we cannot with impunity put ourselves in opposition to the will of the nation. Our hesitations; our criticisms — often entirely unjust; our aspirations and our dreams of the restoration of a state of things in which, as we thought, the lot of the Church would have been happier because it would have been more protected; finally, certain compromising alliances with the promoters of civil war: all these have been fatal to us, have covered us with unpopularity, and alienated from us the masses of the people. . . . If we have the right to think, to say, to write, to print even that this or that policy seems to us dangerous, this or that law bad, this or that doctrine disastrous, that does not give us the right to attack individuals or to say that one person is a thief and

days of the disturbances various Parisian *curés* protested against the invasion of their churches by "parishioners" of whom they had no knowledge. The Abbé Gayraud, who is neither a socialist nor a heretic, considered it both his right and his duty to speak to his co-religionists in his twofold capacity of priest and deputy. "Respect God!" he wrote in

another an assassin. One thing above all is interdict for every man of honour, namely, to pry into the private life of a public man, to misrepresent his most simple actions, to attribute to him the darkest designs, to impute to him imaginary crimes, and thus to seek by base attacks to discredit and ruin his authority. Let us who are Catholics be ever strangers to such shameful manœuvres. Let us treat with deference and courtesy all who represent the State, from the first magistrate of the Republic, who represents the nation in the eyes of the world, treats with sovereigns, receives and is received by them, down to the humblest public officials who place so much disinterested zeal and intelligence at the service of the public. . . . It is not fitting that we should resist by force the execution of laws that we consider bad. The celebrated words: '*Non possumus*!'—'We must obey God rather than man,' and other similar sayings that are being rather abused just now, apply only to laws that directly violate the conscience. It is an exaggeration to extend their application to laws that are merely bad, I mean those that only injure our interests. In these cases, at whatever cost to our pride, the better course is to obey—first, because this course does not put us in revolt against our country, secondly, because it is the most in accordance with sound reason and also with Christian tradition."

In conclusion Mgr. Lacroix says that, if they object to this or that law, they must strive for its repeal or amendment by constitutional means, and by the use of their rights as members of a democracy.]

the *Univers*, and recalled the words of the Sermon on the Mount and the command of Jesus to Peter to put up his sword within its sheath. One bishop was found to repudiate him;[1] not one to congratulate him.

Since then the instinctive craving of Catholics for uniformity of opinion has had a powerful effect; the most pacific *curés* in Paris, even the very men who censured rebellion most severely, have hailed from the pulpit the heroes of the revolt. At the present moment the majority of Catholics in their hearts and consciences deplore and disapprove of these disturbances, but already they no longer dare to open their mouths. They are doing again what they did at the time of the Taxil enterprise and at the time of the Dreyfus affair; they are allowing themselves to be led by the violent faction. Is there not in such a spectacle as this something to attract the attention of the friends of peace and to make them anxious?

In spite of all, I wish to hope that when the Pope speaks, it will not be to shut for

[1] Mgr. Dubillard, Bishop of Quimper.

ever the door that is still ajar. He has condemned the Separation Law, but that law permitted him on Sunday last, 25th February, to write one of the most important pages in the history of the Church. The consecration of fourteen French bishops in St Peter's is the consequence—the normal and foreseen consequence—of the independence which Rome has recovered no less than the State. The Holy See will, no doubt, consider that, by taking so early and so large an advantage of the law, it has morally bound itself to accept its inconveniences at the same time as its advantages, and try to abide by it honestly.

CHANTEGRILLET, près CREST (DRÔME),
3rd March 1906.

INTRODUCTION

THE attention of the whole of Europe has been drawn to the religious crisis through which France is at present passing. Europe is right. The effort that we are making in France has never before been attempted. It is a new experience, and it may be instructive in many regards to other nations. It would be a fundamental mistake to regard the separation of Church and State in France as a mere political measure arising from irritation. If, at the moment, certain politicians pride themselves on having brought it about of set purpose, it is only right to tell them that they are making a mistake in fact. Or rather it may be better to say nothing. What is the good of making the worthy gentlemen unhappy? A small child of my acquaintance, just before he left the mountains last year, slipped away and put a few seeds in the ground. This year he showed us in triumph some tall firs, and believed, or pretended to believe, that they were his harvest.

Those who wish to pass for the authors of separation are the victims of an illusion similar to that of their opponents who persist in declaring that it was decreed by three or four Freemasons, emissaries of Satan. In truth, even the word Separation is quite inappropriate as a description of the present crisis: the rupture with Rome, the denunciation of the Concordat, the suppression of the *budget des cultes*; all these are but remote consequences and external symbols. France stands at one of the most critical moments of her intellectual, moral and religious development; it would no more be within her power to avoid it than it is within the power of an individual to escape the crisis of puberty. The whole nation feels this in a mysterious way. It is pulling itself together; an instinct of which it is scarcely conscious warns it to be prepared. The question is asked here and there in the foreign press, why France has calmed down, why the volatile Frenchman has become so resolutely pacific. This is the true, the ultimate—one might almost say, the physiological—explanation.

We must not then allow the expression "Separation of the Churches and the State" to mislead us and prevent us from recognising the gravity and complexity of the situation.

If it were merely a question of the *budget des cultes*, France might perhaps have gone to America for a model. But in the United States the separation of the Churches and the State is but an empty phrase and a semblance of reality. No religion is State-paid because the astounding swarms of Churches and sects make it impossible to think of paying salaries to all the clergy; they are therefore paid to none. It is just an acceptance of the situation, a merely empirical solution of a problem of which France is seeking a solution based on reason, logic and principle. It is a result of circumstances, perhaps only provisional, for the question may be asked without absurdity whether the imperialist type of mind that is developing across the Atlantic will not eventually lead to the absorption by two or three Churches of the rest, and whether the day will not come when those two or three will open negotiations with the State to obtain the just recompense of the services that they render it. In other words, the American State establishes all the Churches and considers itself their debtor.

In France the exact opposite is the case: the nation is in the act of notifying the

Churches that it breaks with them definitively. The suppression of the *budget des cultes* is but a detail, an episode. We are not exciting ourselves over a question of pounds, shillings and pence. We are bidding farewell to a past by which we have been formed. We are on the threshold of a religious revolution.

Probably many readers will think that in the first part of the following essay, where I deal with the origins of the crisis, I have exaggerated the dark side. And perhaps they will think the second part, which deals with the results of the crisis and the evolution of Catholicism, overdrawn in an optimistic direction. If so, I ask them to be assured that I have tried to deal with the matter from a purely historical standpoint. I have put down simply and frankly what I see.

One more remark by way of preface. The question in Parliament has been that of the separation of the Churches and the State. I shall speak here only of the separation of the Church—the Roman Catholic Church—and the State. If there had in fact been only Protestant Churches and Synagogues in France, the question of separation would

not have come up so soon. The law which has just been passed affects all the religions connected with the State, but that is only a secondary consequence, due to the fact that Parliament could not discriminate or categorise: the primary cause of the law is to be found in the Roman Church, and it is that Church above all that it has in view.

Protestantism, however, exists in France, and, although it is in a small minority, it is powerful and influential. But as a religion its influence is almost *nil.* It is misunderstood because it is not known. Undoubtedly had France been Protestant, the present crisis would have been somewhat delayed; but in time — in twenty, in fifty years—the same problem would have come up for solution, and it would have been solved in the same way.

Circumstances have led Parliament to think almost entirely of the rupture with the Roman Church. Nevertheless this crisis is really a rupture with all the Churches, and as such is but the normal and necessary climax of the work of democratic laïcisation.

I

THE ORIGINS OF THE CRISIS

THE first conclusion to which one is driven even by a mere glance at the history of France in the nineteenth century is that, if the State is now separating from the Church, the Church has for a long time past been giving it notice of separation. I am speaking, of course, of the clergy as a body. There have been exceptions; but they have been rare enough to give one the right to say that, particularly since 1870, the Church has been indefatigable in providing forces for the attack on the Republic. French Catholics have been, not merely conservative, but violently, desperately reactionary: always ready to march under no matter what flag—that of Boulanger or Drumont, or any other who would hold out to them the hope of speedily ridding the country of a detested regime.[1] When

[1] After 1870 the Republic showed more consideration for the Roman Church than had any other government. Instead of being grateful the majority of Catholics allowed themselves

priests meet and ask each other the news of their respective parishes, they do not say, "How many families of practising Christians have you?" They say, "How many *bien pensants* electors have you?" Now, the "right-thinking" elector is he who never thinks at all—if he can help it—or whose thoughts are thoughts of rage and hatred against the Republic.

But it will be said: "This may have been true before the famous intervention of Leo XIII. in favour of the rallying of French Catholics to the Republic, but it is no longer true at the present moment."

I reply that the instructions of the late Pope had no effect on the real mind of Catholics. Was Leo XIII. misrepresented, betrayed by the French clericals? It would take too long to discuss that question here. What is certain

to be carried away by extremists of the type of the late Mgr. Freppel, and in 1873 the country was honeycombed by polemical pilgrimages which marched to Paray-le-Monial to the war-cry of "Save Rome and France in the name of the Sacred Heart!"

"When we remember," says a Catholic writer—M. Chaine—"that from 1871 to 1875 the Catholics had in their hands every public office from the Presidency of the Republic down to the rural police force; that the Army—always very churchy—and the officials of every grade were at their beck and call; what egregious blunders must they not have committed to have been driven from power to a man, when circumstances had put it in their hands, and they filled every avenue to it?"

is that his intervention had a result diametrically opposite to that which the Pope desired: it only widened the gulf between Catholicism and democracy.

The *ralliés* imagined, indeed, with a *naïveté* bordering on disingenuousness, that they had but to accept the Republic nominally, to hoist the tricolour and tolerate the *Marseillaise*, for the democracy to receive them with open arms and consider itself highly honoured in making them its leaders. But the democracy showed a prudent disposition; it requested these unexpected friends to undergo an apprenticeship, a noviciate, to give proofs of their attachment —and lo! they were gone! It would be easy to-day to recognise the names of many of these Republicans of an hour among the promoters of the most disreputable or absurd enterprises against the Republic.[1]

[1] The accredited apologists of the Church never weary of repeating that the liberty of a Catholic is unlimited in everything that has not been defined by the infallible *magisterium*, and in everything that does not concern faith or morals. But, in fact, these apologists themselves are the very first to act like people who have an almost diseased craving for submission. Three years ago a society was founded, of which nearly all the members were priests. Rome, misinformed by jealous fanatics, requested the ecclesiastics to withdraw, and based its decision on the erroneous information that it had received. The priests retired. Not one of them ever thought of saying to Cardinal Rampolla: "Your condemnation is based on an error in fact."

The good people who noisily advertise the soundness of their Catholicism no doubt possess "supernatural virtues" much appreciated by their spiritual directors; but in this venture, as in so many others, they showed a lack of intellectual and moral character which has made a profound impression on the nation.[1]

It is not, however, the fact that it is conservative and reactionary that makes the clerical mind so antipathetic to the French democracy. Those qualities would be forgiven it if its reactionary ideas were the fruit of a profound, sincere and realised conviction. But, on the contrary, French clericals apply to politics the principle of authoritative faith to which they are accustomed in religion. They will to believe. They congratulate themselves on their blind faith and make a virtue of it; and the moment always comes when they turn instinctively to Rome for the word of command.[2] Rome, like most

[1] On the attitude of French Catholics since 1870 the works of the Abbé Naudet and the Abbé Dabry should be read, particularly "Pourquoi les Catholiques ont perdu la Bataille," by the Abbé Naudet (Paris, 1904), and "Les Catholiques Républicains," by the Abbé Dabry (Paris, 1905).

[2] It is certainly not easy to paint a portrait of the French clerical. He is first and foremost a reactionary; moreover, he is always on the road to or from Rome. But it is necessary to distinguish between the sincere clericals who really accept the directions of the Pope, and the sham clericals who amuse

oracles, gives extremely obscure replies; but, even if she always gave directly or indirectly the most effective advice possible, those who had consulted her would return from their real or ideal journey shorn of the capacity of citizenship.

themselves by making fun of them. There were French clericals who prayed for the conversion of Leo XIII. and Cardinal Rampolla! And even now some of their leaders never mention the predecessor of Pius X. except in a tone of utter contempt: "Poor Leo XIII.!" See "Le Clergé Français et le Concordat," by the Baron de Mandat-Grancey (Paris, 1905), pp. 26, 196, 206. On the contrary, the Baron is full of admiration for Pius X., and warns him that only four or five bishops have succeeded in retaining the respect of Catholics (p. 62). M. de Mandat-Grancey is scarcely more civil to the religious orders: "The generals and other heads of the religious orders are worse than the bishops. They have been able neither to foresee the storm, nor to make shift while it lasted, nor even to die with dignity." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 138). All this because bishops and generals of religious orders have not conducted with sufficient vigour the campaign against the Republic, which these pious people call in their jargon "*La Gueuse*" (the strumpet). I need not expatiate on the quarrels between the Catholics who were disobedient to the directions of Leo XIII. and the *ralliés*. The two parties did their best to keep up appearances before the outside public to some extent, but from time to time the storm broke out. For example, a long article will be found in the *Osservatore Romano* (the official organ of the Holy See) for 24th February 1901, in which the *Vérité Française* is pitilessly trounced. The papal organ criticises an article in the *Vérité Française* as a "tissue of gratuitous and malicious assertions, of statements which are in complete opposition to the glorious title inscribed at the head of its pages and are a mixture of perfidious insinuations and calumnies." The writer concludes by saying that the political defeat of the refractory Catholics is "the consequence of their blindness and obstinacy."

Here we reach the fundamental cause of the conflict between the State and the Church, a conflict which might have come to a crisis a few years earlier or later, but which no skill, no political measure, could long have averted. The citizen, as the modern Frenchman conceives him, is not the elector, not even the soldier ready to shed his blood for his country. Something deeper and more individual is required to make a citizen worthy of the name: namely, a manful personal effort to see clearly, to acquire a conviction, and, having acquired it, to act upon it. This effort may produce more or less happy results; in some cases it will be carried to completion, in others it will not get beyond the stage of vision. But, whether fully realised or outlined merely, it is nevertheless enough to transform an individual and make a new man of him.

It is not, then, in France a case of two opposing parties, but of two antithetical conceptions of life. So fundamental a conflict no other country has yet known. Philosophers would perhaps say that the contending systems are those of transcendence and of immanence; even a careless spectator would say that there is on the one side a nascent, on the other a moribund, civilisation.

Here one must distinguish carefully between clericals and Catholics; there is, it is true, a group of French Catholics who would not think of applying to authority in other than religious matters. We shall meet with them again later on and see what future is in store, as I believe, for this minority. But they are for the moment but an advance guard, and, since it is the actual situation that we have in view, it must be stated that in the eyes of the clerical the independent Catholic is a sort of monster, and in the eyes of the public at large Catholicism and clericalism are synonymous.

This may perhaps seem surprising; but the policy of Leo XIII., far from bringing about a reconciliation between the Church and the democracy, had quite an opposite result. It made their incompatibility more conspicuous. It is not my present concern to enquire into the Pope's intentions, but a strange fact must be noted: the noisiest organs of the clerical party agreed for the moment with the organs of militant anti-clericalism in declaring that the Pope, far from wishing to point Catholicism towards a new horizon, was making a manœuvre to turn the flank of the Republic and conquer it. The public at large, which could not repair to Rome and ask the Pope what was at the back of his mind, was obliged

to leave the interpretation of the pontifical directions to the *Croix* and the *Vérité Française.*

But, suppose that these discussions had not taken place, that the insincerity of Rome had not been trumpeted abroad by the very people who claimed to have been entrusted with the transmission of her directions; suppose, further, that not only had Leo XIII. desired a real, sincere and disinterested rally to the Republic, but also that his instructions had been entirely successful: nevertheless the effect produced on French public opinion could scarcely have been other than it was. The democracy is jealous. Patronising approval offends it quite as much as disapproval, for he who approves arrogates to himself rights over the democracy, and that is what it can never allow.

There was a thrill of astonishment even in the most remote country places when in 1893 the *curés*, who the year before had refused the keys of the church when it was desired to hoist a flag on the national *fête* of 14th July, were seen not only tolerating the tricolour on the top of the church steeple, but even putting stacks of it round the high altar and singing Mass for the Republic. This abrupt change of attitude went far to discredit the Church, for it brought into relief

the incompatibility of the clerical idea of citizenship with the democratic idea. When, before the intervention of Leo XIII., the democracy attacked clericalism, it did so not because the latter had such and such ideas, but because its convictions were accepted on authority and not acquired by reason; here was Leo XIII. giving the machinery for transmitting opinion a fresh start! This time, it is true, the opinion transmitted by the machinery was of an agreeable character, but what of that? It is the machinery itself that the democracy will have none of.

The efforts of Leo XIII., then, were quite unsuccessful. The majority of French citizens thought that, if he—the pontiff whose liberalism and intelligence were so much lauded—dictated to the faithful the lines of their political action, it must be because the Church could not help going outside the spiritual domain. Even though the Pope were prepared to bestow on us a perfect political system and a body of quite irreproachable functionaries, the French democracy would have none of them, because rightly or wrongly it wills to govern itself and live its own life. It does not ignore the difficulty and uncertainty of the enterprise, but this will has become with it an instinct which cannot be gainsaid.

Will the democracy go back on itself and retrace its steps? One might as well ask a young man who has just left home in the strength and pride of his twenty years whether he can ever again become an obedient little boy.

This tendency of French clericals to be guided in their political action by ecclesiastical authority has not only had the result of isolating them from the rest of the nation; it has also put them under another disability almost equally serious. So accustomed are they to submission that they cannot understand a different attitude in others. The imperious need of civil autonomy that is felt by the Republican is to the clerical not merely a cause of astonishment and scandal; it is impossible. It is a miracle; and the believer in Lourdes and La Salette becomes in the presence of such a phenomenon an invincible unbeliever. You enter into conversation with him; you put before him calmly your point of view; suddenly he stops you abruptly: "Why is this your opinion?" Then you do your best to put before him your arguments, to give him an account of the genesis of your intimate thought. It is lost labour, he does not listen to you; but, if he is on terms of

intimacy with you, he will seize you by both hands and cry out in a tone of affectionate reproach: "My dear fellow, don't try to humbug me; I see that you have learned your lesson well, but for goodness' sake own up. We are better informed than you imagine. We know that the Lodges and Secret Lodges have their schemes."

All your denials will be without the least effect. For him every one who is not a clerical belongs to some occult revolutionary sect in which lying is a duty. Your word has not the smallest weight with him.

A mentality of this type breaks down all bridges and makes all conversation impossible with those who are afflicted with it. Here, in my opinion, is one of the deepest reasons of the present crisis, that which makes it at once important and novel.

But, besides these factors, due to the intellectual evolution of the democracy now coming of age, there have been other causes which have precipitated events.

In 1882, under the Jules Ferry ministry, France gave the Church a warning. Perhaps Catholics would have been wiser at that time if they had tried to understand the measures that so much excited them instead of arranging ceremonies of expiation and seeing the

miraculous intervention of God in the death of some police commissary or sheriff's officer obliged to put in force the law against the convents. On the contrary, the Congregations attributed the measures to a fit of temper, much as if a man should notice a sudden fall of the barometer and not even think of drawing any practical deduction from it. Expelled by the doors, the Congregations came back through the windows by crowds at a time! They settled in swarms, bought houses and lands, started factories. Just at first there was some hesitation and some regard for appearances; but in ten years the monks had forgotten everything: not only did they come and go with perfect freedom, but they assumed the bearing of conquerors and carried the flouting of public opinion to a point of affectation.

The boldest in this respect were the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption, or Assumptionists. The manifest boredom and indifference with which, about 1890, France regarded the stereotyped formulæ of vulgar anti-clericalism, misled them. They fancied that the hour was come, that all things were both lawful and expedient for them. They treated France as a conquered country.

Suddenly the country woke up to the fact

that a miserable little rag, which had been published for years without attracting the least attention, and for which nobody felt anything but pity and disdain, was in process of acquiring one of the leading positions in the press so far as circulation was concerned. Even among the little provincial papers with a circulation of a few hundreds nothing had ever been known quite so empty and vulgar as the *Croix*. Its directors plainly set themselves to find the level of the most limited and uneducated minds, not in order to raise them to a higher level, but in order to flatter them. It was not, however, this fact that brought about the immense success of the paper, but the hatred which overflowed in those columns headed by the figure of the Crucified of Calvary.[1]

A section of the French clergy saw the enormous moral injury that the *Croix* must inevitably do to Catholicism, but these clear-sighted men were in a minority. They dared not protest aloud, and, knowing that the

[1] The Assumptionists have not been alone in regarding spiteful derision as the best of weapons to use against their opponents. The much more moderate group, led by M. Jacques Piou, and known as the "*Action Libérale Populaire*," adopts the same method. It published an almanac for 1905, which was widely circulated, in which can be seen at a glance the ordinary tone of clerical polemic.

Assumptionists did not forgive opponents, they groaned in silence.

After a pretence of serving the secular clergy, the gentlemen of the *Croix* proceeded to tame them. They had grasped the immense profit that they could make out of the ecclesiastical system of the Concordat. They regarded the whole Catholic hierarchy—from the Bishop down to the humblest curate or choir-boy—as naturally designed to be their unpaid staff. Thus it came about that in every parish in France there were five or six people supplying the *Croix* with subscribers and news. These "*zélateurs*" and "*zélatrices*" discharged their mission with marvellous success, as indeed was natural enough when one remembers that they all had a perfect knowledge of their surroundings. Past masters in the art of advertising, the Assumptionists succeeded in making it the first preoccupation of French Catholics—the religious work *par excellence* — to secure a "good Press." Not only was there a *Croix* published in Paris, but every important district had also its localised edition. The tale was soon completed by the *Croix Illustrée*, the *Croix du Dimanche*, the *Croix du Marin*, the *Noël* or children's *Croix*, the *Contemporains*, the *Croix des Comités*, the *Franc-Maçonnerie*

Démasquée, the *Questions Actuelles*, the *Laboureur*, the *Ligue de l'Ave Maria*, the *Œuvre Électorale*, and I know not how many more.[1] Next, as it was necessary to isolate

[1] In order to form some idea of the effective and compact character of this organisation it is necessary to read the *Croix des Comités*, in which the Assumptionists fomented the zeal of their correspondents, and organised the battle. It was issued with a supplement — *Nos Conférences* — in which the religious supplied their friends with model lectures on questions of the day, and formed their ideas. These lectures were a stroke of genius. It would not have been difficult almost anywhere, even in the most remote country places, to find men of the people who were greatly flattered that they had been thought of as lecturers. The little pamphlet was placed in their hands. They learned it by heart, and declaimed it with a gusto rare among professional lecturers; thus they became, without perceiving it, marvellously efficient agents of the Assumptionists. Inevitably these well-meaning lecturers believed everything that they repeated in their harangues as absolutely as if it had been the outcome of personal enquiry or original opinion. Should they meet with a contradiction while they were repeating their lesson, they would have been incapable of understanding it, and could only begin over again with more vehemence than ever—which, with a popular audience, is the method most certain of success. It will be seen what a marvellous instrument for perverting people's minds the "Bonne Presse" became. The extent of the evil caused one intelligent priest to raise the alarm; the Abbé Quiévreux tried to divert the attention of Catholics to a duty incumbent upon all: the use of the intellect. His words were wasted on the desert air. Nothing could be more suggestive than the table of contents of *Nos Conférences*. The apparent diversity of the subjects thinly disguises the real aim, namely, the organisation of the Catholic party. It is a fraction of the nation claiming the past history of France as their own peculiar property, and attempting to create a notion of political orthodoxy which will enable them to ostracise their fellow-

Catholics from the rest of France and preserve them from the impure contact of their fellow-countrymen, there was a whole crop of literary and even scientific publications. Finally, as wit and humour were not forbidden, there were even caricatures and puns — orthodox caricatures and canonical puns.

Those of my readers who are interested in religious pathology should look through the series of the *Pélerin*, the illustrated supplement of the *Croix*. They will then see with what lamentable imbecilities the Assumptionists flooded France in the belief that they were serving the cause of God, of His Christ and of the Church.

Intoxicated with their success, they doubtless saw in it the working of Providence, and redoubled their audacity. Yet a few months, they thought, and the victory will be won.

citizens. The subjects most often dealt with are those of "The Action of the Freemasons," "The Protestant Conspiracy," "The Agricultural Syndicates," "Catholic Union," all intermingled with advertising lectures on the "*Bonne Presse*." France was deluged with halfpenny tracts. Here are some of their titles: "Manuel de Propagande de la *Croix*," "L'Œuvre surnaturelle—[sic]—de la *Croix*," "Croisade d'Honneur et de Patriotisme," "L'Apostolat de la Presse." Those who have not much time, but would like to have a notice of the kind of ideas that these gentlemen of the *Croix* diffuse, should procure the "Almanach du *Pélerin* pour 1906," which has just been published (price 50 centimes) at the Bureaux de la Bonne Presse, 5 Rue Bayard, Paris, and is on sale at all Catholic booksellers.

Then would they thrust down to Hell (!) all the instruments of the Devil—that is to say, the servants of democracy.[1]

For a long time France regarded the monastic conspirators with indifference bordering on contempt. It was incredible that a handful of excited people should have a real and profound influence. The monks thought that lay France was vanquished and afraid. They therefore resolved to spread panic in its ranks. The worthy apostles of Nationalism and Anti-semitism, scenting a prey, began to go to Mass and became the faithful allies of the Assumptionists; all sorts of curious associations began to spring up. Another France, so to speak, was being formed in the ranks of the Church, which could scarcely restrain itself from boasting of the reprisals and the vengeance of the day very near at hand, when it would be victorious.

This new France provided itself with a new flag, the flag of the Sacred Heart, which might be seen floating behind the Crucifix on the front of the *Croix*, with these words of Christ to Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque:

"My Heart desires to be emblazoned on

[1] The devil, demons, and Satanism recur in almost all the Assumptionist publications.

all the standards of France to make her victorious over all her enemies and triumphant over all the enemies of the Church."

There were among the clergy many men who saw the danger and were deeply revolted at the spectacle of the religion of Christ being used to cloak a crusade of hatred and civil war. But they were terrorised, and dared not speak. The most moderate Catholic newspapers, such as the *Univers*, fell into line and joined in the campaign of the *Croix*. Thirty-five bishops were found to congratulate M. François Veuillot on a work entitled "Le Drapeau du Sacré-Cœur."[1]

"The flag demanded of France by the Sacred Heart" thenceforth made conquest after conquest. "Militia of the Sacred Heart" were founded, first at Nancy, then in a whole crowd of villages. Finally, on 13th January 1901, the commune of Auriac (Aveyron) was solemnly consecrated to the Sacred Heart by the Mayor, assisted by the whole Municipal Council. The name of this commune deserves to be mentioned, since it was the first to take this course.[2]

[1] Published by Tolra, 28 Rue d'Assas, Paris.

[2] The minutes of the proceedings and deed of consecration were published in the *Univers* of 10th February 1901. We read:—"We, the members of the municipal council . . . in meeting assembled unanimously express our great desire to

The noisy way in which the Assumptionists already acted on the presumption of victory drew into their net big battalions of waverers. When they had won over the peasants in the Catholic districts, they made it their business to secure the trading classes. Notices were charitably sent to proprietors of *cafés* and hotels informing them that the *Croix* was the most widely read paper in France. During the next few days wealthy travellers happened to drop in, who persistently demanded the *Croix*, and sometimes refused to have a drink in places where the "*bon journal*" was not taken in. It takes a force of character rarely possessed by licensed victuallers to resist arguments of this nature. So they gave way, but stored up in their hearts a supply of deep-seated rancour against these organisers of a new inquisition. In many parts of the South the forgotten memories of 1815 and the "*Terreur Blanche*" began to be recalled.[1]

see the government of France accede to the demand of our Lord Jesus Christ by the official consecration of the nation to the Sacred Heart, and the representation of its image on the flag of France." Two years later the *Univers* said—and the remark caused no surprise to its readers:—"The image of the Sacred Heart imprinted in the midst of the French flag decidedly disturbs the sectaries. He (?) who inspires them already recognises there his conqueror (!)."

[1] The following are a few passages from the sermon which Père Coubé, S.J., trumpeted through France in September 1900:

Quartered in their church-shop, thinking of nothing but their conspiracy against the "modern monsters," the Assumptionists did not discern the signs of the times.

Here we must pause for a moment and go back to about the year 1896. Since 1870 the French democracy had steadily advanced in self-realisation. It had triumphed over every crisis, stamped out every poisonous growth. By the term "lay" it meant that it repudiated every sort of divine right in politics, and every consequence therefrom derived. The spirit of caste was repugnant to it; in every respect it was progressing

"Oh! how splendid and how terrible it was, this lion-hearted people, when it stood up to Europe and threatened iniquity with its irresistible wrath! How splendid it was, when its roar filled the Mussulman hordes with terror; when it encamped before the Holy Sepulchre and said to Mahomet, 'Come and take it!' when it stretched out its arm to the throne of the Popes and cried to the crowned knaves, 'Draw not near'; when it said to the Albigensian heretics, 'Die!' and to the Protestants, 'Begone!' Yes; it was splendid then, the French lion! . . . Roar, then, O lion, roar in the luminous immensity of the void to tell the world that thou art weary of sleep; that thou art about to descend into the plain to combat and to crush iniquity. Roar, O lion, to command the impious sects to vanish from the soil of France. Roar, to rally round thee all the soldiers of Christ and His Mother; roar, that thy voice may top the eternal Mont Blanc, and tell to all the echoes that the reign of falsehood is over, and that the truth, too long obscured, is about to emerge from the mist and shine forth on the world."

towards liberty and light, as much opposed to secret trials as to secret diplomacy.

It is the will of the democracy that education shall be secular and compulsory, for it considers it as impossible that another should form our opinions for us as that he should eat and digest for us. It is the will of the democracy that every individual shall become a citizen, that is to say an active and intelligent member of the body politic; and a citizen has no more right to renounce a single one of his duties or prerogatives than he has to emasculate himself. Our elder brothers, thirty years ago, had substitutes who for 1000 or 2000 francs undertook their military service for them. Hardly one generation has passed, and the very idea of this substitution seems to us a kind of monstrosity.

This, briefly, is the direction in which the democracy is steering its course; far from thinking that it has reached finality, it is persuaded that all that it has hitherto accomplished is but the prelude to the civilisation of to-morrow. Its ideas are as yet vague, unshaped; they have not yet permeated our institutions; but do not the facts of to-morrow spring from the ideas of to-day?

So, then, the democracy, heading this way, suddenly encountered on its course the organs

of the "*Bonne Presse*," shouting and threatening in the name of the Church and the Crucified :—"Thus far, and no further. The ideas of liberty that you preach are blasphemies against God. The ideal towards which you are aiming is a mirage, a device of Satan for your destruction."

I am aware that the Church never officially authorised this newspaper to represent her ; but French Catholics as a body, by accepting the *Croix* as their organ, have identified its cause with their own, and the identification will last for a long time to come. I am also well aware that the *Croix* people made a wrong use of apostolic benedictions to make out that the Pope was more thoroughly on their side than was perhaps strictly the case. But the ecclesiastical hierarchy would never see that the famous paper was on the way to put the intelligence of Catholics to a terrible test, and to compromise the honour of the Church for a long time to come. They were unwilling to give scandal, and the consequence was that, in order to avoid scandalising the pious (whose faith, by the way, seems singularly robust), they scandalised the best minds of the nation. Neither Pope nor cardinals nor bishops ventured to speak so explicitly as to make any misunderstanding unpardonable.

The democracy was, however, rather slow to be agitated by the bluster of the *Croix* and its satellites. It was persuaded, not without reason, that these people were making all this uproar in order to increase their own importance. It would have preferred to leave them unnoticed, not to allow them to divert it from pressing forward towards its goal. But this serenity or disdain was misunderstood by the zealots of the clerical party. Thinking that their adversaries declined battle, they rushed to the assault on power.

In time of war some belligerents, convinced that all means are lawful which lead to victory, forget the rights of others. So it was with the French clericals. Freemasonry seemed to them to be the citadel of democracy. They therefore turned upon it all their batteries.

And so came about the interminable tangle of the most fantastic hoax that history has ever recorded. I should not think of recalling the business of Léo Taxil and Diana Vaughan, if those who were its guarantors and interested exploiters had loyally acknowledged their error, and tried to make reparation for it. But, on the contrary, they shared with Léo Taxil the profits of their partnership with him, and they mean to lose none of them even after his infamy has been blazed abroad.

Perhaps some of my readers do not know who Léo Taxil was. He was a journalist, who was born in 1854, and about 1879 began to make a speciality of attacks on the clergy. His most famous work in this line was a book called "Les Amours Secrètes de Pie IX." For a few years these disreputable publications, advertised as they were by sonorous condemnations, had a very great success; but the anti-clerical public itself was soon sickened by the cynicism of their author.

That sinister person was already branded by public scorn, and saw his customers deserting him, when in April 1885 his conversion was suddenly announced. The papal nuncio himself condescended to relieve him of the excommunication *de lata sententia*, and the Catholic papers vied with one another in extolling the miracle of grace. It was, however, evident even to the most ingenuous observer that the conversion was nothing but an audacious imposture. The secular press told Catholics, with one voice, into what a trap they were walking. They would not listen, and Léo Taxil, with the help of a few accomplices, proceeded to adventure on the most obscene of speculations.

For more than ten years Catholic France was deluged with publications in which, under

the pretext of revealing the secrets of Freemasonry and unmasking the enemies of God, the confederates narrated the most outrageous absurdities that have ever been invented by a delirious imagination. In the large volumes, as in the periodical numbers feverishly looked for and greedily read in presbyteries and convents, pruriency ran riot. On every page the most obscene pornography was ostentatiously displayed for the greater glory of God.

The basis of the "revelations" of Léo Taxil was that Freemasons practise a *cultus* of Satan. The Black Mass effects on their altars the real presence of the Devil, with this difference in favour of the Devil (!) that in the case of the diabolic Host, the appearance of the Host vanishes and the Devil manifests himself in person under the most unexpected and obscene forms.[1]

[1] This chapter of contemporary history has not yet been written. A very brief but precise summary will be found in a pamphlet by Henry Charles Lea: — "Léo Taxil, Diana Vaughan et l'Église Romaine, Histoire d'une Mystification" (Paris: Société de Librairie et d'Edition, 1901). Here are a few titles taken at random, which will give a sufficient indication of the character of the Taxil literature:—"La Franc-Maçonnerie Luciférienne," "Révélations complètes sur le Palladisme, la Théurgie," "La Goétie et tout le Satanisme Moderne," "Magnétisme Occulte, Pseudo-spirites et Vocates Procédants," "Les Médiums Luciférians," "La Cabale Fin-de-siècle," "Magie de la Rose-Croix," "Les Possessions à l'état Latent," "Les Précurseurs de l'Anti-Christ"; "Récits d'un Témoin," by Dr Bataille, with numerous illustrations. Paris:

The laughter and sarcasms with which Free thinkers received these outpourings of filth only confirmed the poor dupes in their credulity. Doubtless there were ecclesiastics who could see through it all. Are they to be congratulated? If they were not victims, then they were accomplices, and that is perhaps a less honourable *rôle*. For no authoritative voice was raised to save the honour of the Church and to separate her cause from this revolting apologetic.[1]

Delhomme & Briguet, 13 Rue de l'Abbaye (12 francs a volume); Léo Taxil, "Révélations complètes sur la Francmaçonnerie": — The Masonic sisters, the Freemasonry of ladies and its mysteries, the secret ceremonies of the female lodges entirely divulged, female apprentices, female companions, mistresses, perfect mistresses, the "sublimes écossaises," female knights of the dove, "Les fendeuses," nymphs of the rose, etc. Banquets, amusements, and hymns of the Masons. Paris: Letouzey & Ane, 51 Rue Bonaparte (price 3 francs 50). On page 400 I notice a whole-page advertisement of the "Life of our Lord Jesus Christ," by the Abbé C. Le Camus (now Bishop of La Rochelle).

[1] The provincial towns also had their anti-Masonic revelations. In 1895 Commander Dominique Margiotta published at Grenoble a startling volume on Palladism and the worship of Satan as Lucifer, prefaced by the apostolic benediction, and a long letter from Mgr. Fava, Bishop of the diocese, who addressed the chief performer as "Dear friend." There were other letters from Mgr. Piavi, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the late Archbishop of Aix, and a whole list of bishops. The disastrous fall of M. Taxil did not cause Mgr. Fava to lose his anti-Masonic faith. Eighteen months after that event he produced a book entitled "Le Secret de la Franc-Maçonnerie," which volume won him an honour very rare in history. Pope Leo XIII. acknowledged

The most moderate ecclesiastical journals had acquired the habit of devoting a column to "revelations." A steady stream of papal encyclicals and episcopal incitements made it an essential duty of Catholics to wage war against the "Sect of Satan." At last, in 1896, the Roman Anti-Masonic Commission (appointed by Leo XIII.) decided to organise a regular crusade against Freemasonry, and for that purpose to convene an international congress at Trent. The choice of this town was a symbol and a programme in itself. The sessions of this extraordinary congress were held at the end of September 1896, thirty-six bishops being present. They opened with an immense

the gift of the work by a Latin poem of his own composition. The first few lines were as follows :—

"Extulit ecce caput vesano incensa furore
E stygiis inimica cohors erupta latebris,
Divinum numen maiestatemque verendam
Aggreditur : Christi sponsam mordere cruento
Dente audet, premere insidiis atque arte maligna ;
Praelia mox effrons certamina miscet aperto."

—(*Univers*, 7th June 1898).

Lo ! bursting from its lurking-place in hell,
The hostile band, inflamed with rage insane,
Has reared its head aloft and would attack
The Will and awful majesty of God :
The Spouse of Christ with bloody tooth to rend
It dares, and plies with wiles and art malign ;
Soon shameless it will open battle join.

procession in which 18,000 persons took part; and Léo Taxil was the hero of the day.

Happily four German priests were bold enough to demand precise information about Diana Vaughan,[1] the imaginary heroine of M. Taxil's most recent publications. That miserable individual at first brazened it out; but, seeing that things were going to take an unpleasant turn, he abruptly left Trent and returned to Paris,[2] where a few months

[1] [This mythical lady, as her name suggests, was supposed to be an Englishwoman, and her "revelations" were largely concerned with Freemasonry in England and Scotland, which were represented as centres of the worship of Satan. In "Les Mémoires d'une ex-palladiste, parfaite initiée, indépendante" (Paris: Pierret, 1895), and other works published by Léo Taxil in the name of Diana Vaughan, copious details are given of the British lodges, of which women are apparently members! As a typical example of the incidents related by "Diana Vaughan" one may mention the story of a well-known English General, who was transported by the Devil from Gibraltar to Calcutta and back in a single night, in order that he might join in the Satanic rites of an Indian lodge.]

[2] Even after the Congress of Trent certain Catholic organs hesitated. On 12th November 1896 the *Croix* said:—

"While awaiting the official enquiry on the subject of Diana Vaughan, which is proceeding before the Holy Office, we think it our duty to publish letters of official personages to which the Press (?) refuses hospitality."

Then followed a letter to Diana Vaughan from the late Cardinal Parocchi (at that time the Pope's Cardinal-Vicar), authentic, but written before the Congress of Trent.

The *Univers*, on the contrary, from about the middle of October began to beat a retreat, and tried to prepare Catholics for the great disenchantment. In an article published on 29th

later he announced that on 19th April 1897 he would present Diana Vaughan in person to the public. On the appointed day he presented himself alone, and declared that for ten years he had been trying to find out exactly how far the unfathomable stupidity of Catholics would go. He just escaped being lynched by the meeting, and since then no more has been heard of him.

After this lamentable and sickening campaign the victims of Léo Taxil might have been expected to show some sense of shame. The bishops and priests who had thrown themselves into the conflict were well aware that they had held the Freemasons up to odium, had represented them as monsters of lubricity, and had sown discord in families whose heads were members of the masonic organisation. An ordinary man, when he has committed errors of such a nature, regrets them and

October 1896 Eugène Veuillot gave examples of the strange sentiments that his attempt excited in the readers of the paper. "You are too intelligent," said one subscriber, "not to see that you are playing into the hands of the Freemasons . . . it is really carrying a joke too far!" "Be assured," declared another, "that the doubts to which you give credit are being cleverly disseminated by Palladists and Luciferians, who feign conversion in order to betray us!" "To speak against Diana Vaughan," wrote a third, "is to try to prevent the canonisation of Joan d'Arc (!)."

When one reflects that the *Univers* has the most intellectual public of all the Catholic daily papers, one can form some idea of the mental capacity of the subscribers to the other sheets.

tries to make reparation. Not so the men of the Church. Many of them were furious at having been hoaxed; not one even thought of apologising to those whom he had treated as the off-scouring of the universe and the incarnation of evil. On the contrary, they said with one voice: "The Freemasons paid Léo Taxil to deceive Catholics."[1]

It was useless to point out that all the organs of free thought had warned Catholics into what a trap they were falling; that Léo Taxil had been expelled from the masonic order during his apprenticeship. Nothing made any difference. For these people the old formula

[1] If I am not mistaken, it is to M. Gaston Méry, colleague of M. Drumont on the *Libre Parole*, that the honour of having invested this tactic must be assigned. In January 1900 he published a pamphlet in which he related with relish the impostures of M. Taxil and their success, but he bravely entitled it "Un Complot Maçonnique: la Vérité sur Diana Vaughan" (Paris: Libriarie Blériot, 80 pp., 8vo). The business was characterised by a bland ingenuousness. They cursed Léo Taxil and his accomplices, but they sublet the shops where the Catholic believers had been so copiously bled: and on the scarlet cover of M. Méry's pamphlet were advertisements of works on "The Demon," by a priest of the diocese of Paris; "White Magic," by "Magus," etc.

From 15th January 1897 the same Gaston Méry undertook for the Libriarie Antisémite the editorship of a fortnightly review—*L' Echo du Merveilleux*, evidently intended to rally M. Taxil's public, and provide it with the pabulum that had become indispensable to it. In the first number, the place of "Palladist" revelations was taken by a long account of some apparitions of the Virgin at Tilly-sur-Seulles, of which M. Gaston Méry was a witness at Christmas, 1896.

of the Middle Ages still holds good: "No faith with heretics."

It will perhaps be thought that the anti-clerical party took advantage of Léo Taxil to ridicule the Church. A little; but much less than might have been expected. The moment the first banter was over, the incident was forgotten; even controversialists were ashamed to pursue people so lamentably credulous.[1] In spite of all, the democracy was in 1896 ready once more to hold out the olive branch to the Church.[2]

[1] A society cannot with impunity live on the revelations of M. Taxil, or go for healing to such physicians as MM. Gaston Méry and Georges Bois, or Mgr. Fava. Neurosis and mental derangement became epidemic among Catholics. The shop-windows of the approaches to Saint-Sulpice were filled with works of prophecy of the most improbable description. I have one before me. It is entitled: "Le grand coup, avec sa date probable, c'est-à-dire le grand châtiment du monde et le triomphe universel de l'Église. Etude sur le secret de La Salette comparé aux prophéties de l'Ecriture et à d'autres prophéties authentiques." (The great event, with its probable date, that is to say, the great chastisement of the world and universal triumph of the Church. Study of the secret of La Salette compared with the prophecies of Scripture and other authentic prophecies), by the Abbé Em. Combes, *curé* of Dion (Allier), 3rd edition, 126 pp., 8vo. "His Holiness Leo XIII. has accepted the dedication of this third edition."

It was, no doubt, of such notions as these that M. Fonsegrive was thinking, when he wrote (*Quinzaine*, 1st November 1901): "Let us rid ourselves of monsters and chimeras, and cease to fight against windmills."

[2] These pacific dispositions were gathered up and solemnly expressed by Spuller in the Chamber of Deputies on 10th March 1894, in his famous speech on the "New Spirit."

It was then that the Dreyfus affair broke out. I am not going to tell that story again, even briefly. It will be enough to recall a few precise facts. I am quite convinced that no word of command was given either from Rome or elsewhere; but the Catholic forces are so much accustomed to manœuvre as one man that everything happened just as if there had been a word of command. With a marvellous solidarity all the Catholic papers insinuated not merely that all the partisans of Dreyfus were his accomplices, but that every individual who, without any opinion on the question of guilt or innocence, demanded the revision of the case and a public trial, was paid by a syndicate of treason.

Never was the instinctive unity of Catholic opinion so forcibly displayed as during those terrible days when we lived in an atmosphere of civil war. In 1870 the dogma of infallibility had furious partisans and a glorious minority of opponents; in 1896 the dogma of the necessary guilt of Dreyfus made, so to speak, no heretics. There were, indeed, a few priests who said courageously and simply that they were not convinced, that they felt doubts and hesitations, that in any case the guilt of this Jew ought not to be made an article of faith. The outcry and the indescribable persecutions

with which these reservations were received only made it plain to the eyes of all that, though the civil and political independence of the Catholic believer may be safeguarded in the works of the Fathers or in some papal encyclical, in practice it is a myth.[1]

When the "Affair" broke out, the clerical press had its course marked out from day to day. It had thus a great advantage over the lay press which hesitated in its attempt to arrive at an opinion, even if it did not tack. But the very victory of the clericals ruined them.[2]

When at the sitting of 7th July 1898 the Chamber of Deputies unanimously voted the placarding of the speech of the late M. Cavaignac, this very unanimity was the sign of an abnormal influence — of a vote, tumultuous like those of popular assemblies, or mystical like those of the councils. On

[1] [See the recent declaration of Mgr. Turinaz, Bishop of Nancy, page 118, footnote. A very few Catholic laymen, to their great honour, braved obloquy and social ostracism in defence of justice, like Emile Zola and so many free thinkers. In particular one should mention the name of the distinguished professor of the *École de Droit* and member of the *Institut*, M. Paul Viollet, who founded the *Comité catholique pour la défense du droit* to support the demand for the revision of the Dreyfus case.]

[2] See the admirable book of M. Léon Chaine, one of the Catholics of the minority: "Les Catholiques Français et leurs difficultés actuelles" (Paris, 7th edition, 1904).

the morrow of that famous vote the course of events was terribly precipitated. On 30th August Colonel Henry confessed that he was the author of the document for the authenticity of which the Minister of War had vouched a few days before. From that moment numbers of deputies and innumerable electors asked themselves: "How came it that we were so blinded? What occult power has misled public opinion and overborne us without our knowledge, transforming the representatives of the nation into a panic-stricken herd?"

To all these questions there was only one reply: clericalism was the chief culprit. Clericalism, by making use of the network of religious influences and by the cleverness of its tactics, had outraged the conscience of France and had succeeded by indirect means in perverting the judgment, not only of its adherents, but also of citizens indifferent or even hostile to the Church.

When calm was to some extent restored, and clericalism, in spite of its desperate efforts and shameful alliances, had lost one battle after another in a war from which it expected to emerge triumphant, the whole of republican France made an examination of conscience, and asked itself how it had come to lose all at once every vestige of judgment, and

whence came this wave of madness in which for long months it had been engulfed.

There was the culprit, still braggart and threatening, and, far from hiding his head in shame, prepared to continue his work.[1] In

[1] On 25th April 1901 the famous Jesuit, Père Coubé, delivered at Lourdes, to a congregation of 60,000 men, his celebrated oration on "The Electoral Sword," in which he naturally recalled the memory of Joan d'Arc, and gave to the Virgin Mary a title under which she had never before been invoked—"The Warrior Virgin!" . . . "To battle," he cried in conclusion, "under the standard of the Sacred Heart! A standard is not a sign of peace, but a sign of war."

Even Père Didon, the celebrated Dominican, went over, alas! to the big battalions. On the 19th July 1898, before General Jamont, Commander-in-Chief of the French army, who attended in state, he preached a sermon on the "Military Spirit," which made a tremendous sensation. His biographer, Père Stanislaus Reynaud ("Le Père Didon," Paris, 1904, p. 377), states that the sermon expressed an "ardent militarism," but adds that the charges made against Père Didon on this occasion were false. Père Reynaud would have done better to give us simply the actual words spoken by the preacher. Every one would then have been able to form his own opinion. Fortunately, I can supply the omission by the following quotation, taken from the *Bulletin de l'Union pour l'Action Morale* of August 1898, page 397:—

"Of a truth, when persuasion has failed, when love has proved impotent, it is necessary to resort to force and coercion—to wield the sword, to strike terror, to chastise, to smite: justice must be thrust upon men. The use of force in these circumstances is not merely lawful and legitimate, it is of obligation; and force thus used ceases to be a brutal faculty and becomes a holy and kindly energy.

"The supreme art of government is to know the precise moment at which toleration becomes complicity. Woe to those who hide their criminal weakness behind a futile mask of legality; to those who let their swords rust; to those whose

1896 the celebrated cry of Gambetta, "*Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*" had almost been forgotten. In 1898 it was obtruded with greater force than ever on the memory and the reflections of the democracy. For the democracy had just experienced to its stupefaction what formidable crises may be let loose on a country by an apparently negligible minority, provided it is audacious, thoroughly disciplined, and appeals to religious convictions.

The result was a profound movement among the intellectual and political *élite* of France. Numbers of men, who were perfectly indifferent to religious controversies and had had till then no more sympathy with anti-clericalism than with clericalism, shook off their indifference. The Church all at once appeared to them as the moving spirit of reaction, as a crafty and hypocritical power which, under colour of

kindness of heart turns to weak indulgence. The fatherland, delivered over to every tribulation, will reject them in disgrace, because they knew not how to defend and save her, even at the price of blood."

Thus Père Didon, in the intoxication of his verbosity, announced to lay France what was the ideal of Catholic France. Perfectly well aware of the invincible repugnance felt by the nation for the Catholicism of the Jesuits and the Assumptionists, he sounded a trumpet blast to rally round the standard of Catholic France the military and financial *bourgeoisie*. The reception given to this flood of genuine eloquence showed that the French democracy is not disposed to allow itself to be drawn after a certain species of imperialism.

showing the simple the way to heaven, marshals them in order to hurl them suddenly into the midst of the political fray.

In all that I have said hitherto I have spoken of the Church and of clericalism almost as if those two words were synonyms. I know well that they are not; but, speaking as a historian who deals with facts, I am compelled to say that for all practical purposes the French citizen of to-day cannot help confounding the Church with clericalism. Since clericalism has become the liege of the Church, and the Church has accepted its homage, the defeats of clericalism, which grow daily more terrible, have become defeats of the Church, and all the territory conquered by democracy seems to have been wrested from the Church.

On those who have been good enough to follow me so far the conviction must have forced itself that the separation of Church and State was already accomplished. The French Parliament, in voting it, did but register an existing fact, and seek a *modus vivendi* corresponding to it.[1] Hence the calm

[1] The first Bills introduced into the Chamber of Deputies were conceived in a very different spirit. They were the work of a minority who would have liked to make the law an instrument for the elimination of Catholicism in France. How is it that from those primitive proposals we have gone on to a law which, if it is loyally accepted and observed, will secure a

and pacific turn that this great discussion has taken. If Parliament had been ahead of public opinion, it would have been excited and agitated; but, on the contrary, it has simply followed with quiet attention debates in which the question at issue was one of the most grave that the French conscience has had to solve since 1789.

The separation of Church and State, understood as Parliament has understood it, is more

religious liberty such as France has never known, and an independence of the Churches in regard to the State such as exists in no other country? It is simply by the efforts of men of goodwill who, instead of denouncing the authors of the earliest proposals as tyrants, thieves and assassins, discussed the question calmly and steadily, like citizens who respect the convictions of others. The success of these efforts reflects the greatest possible credit on the parliamentary regime. The parliamentary commission on the law gave audience to every individual and corporate body that applied to be heard. In this way Protestant deputations were able to suggest notable improvements. It is quite evident that Catholic deputations might have obtained much more, had those on that side condescended to intervene in the drafting of the law by the commission. One man who, though neither a deputy nor a senator, has played one of the most effective parts in the making of the new law is M. Raoul Allier, Professor in the University of Paris. The articles that he contributed every week to the *Siècle* very soon attracted the notice of Parliament by their wisdom, their moderation, their sincerity, and the extraordinary knowledge of religious matters that they displayed. They have been collected in two volumes: I. "La Séparation des Églises et de l'État" (18mo. xxiv. and 576 pages, 6f.); II. "La Séparation au Sénat" (18mo. 294 pages, 4f.). Both published by the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, 8 Rue de la Sorbonne, Paris, V.

than a change of dynasty or of the form of government: it is the close of a historical epoch, and the setting of our face towards new horizons.

This is not the place to speak of the reception that France has given to the Separation Law. Many people are astonished that the democracy has received the passing of the law without noisy demonstrations of enthusiasm. But this tranquillity is accounted for quite naturally, if what has already been said is taken into account: never has a law been voted under more normal conditions. Distant or casual observers, seeing that the democracy has arrived at a point which they did not suspect it would reach, have had the notion of a victory neither looked for nor hoped for; but those who have followed the evolution of the democracy cannot be victims of such an illusion.

In the clerical camp nobody seems to have thought of quietly and objectively studying the law, or enquiring into its origin and import. With the mentality of a naughty schoolboy, some have uttered howls of agony and shrieked: "It is unjust; it is a persecuting law!" The others have shrugged their shoulders, and said with a forced smile: "Your law is a failure, a capitulation! After

having threatened us, you are afraid of us."[1] Howls and smiles are equally devoid of sincerity and seriousness.[2]

[1] See for example, an article entitled, "La Mort de la Séparation," by M. Albert de Mun, of the Académie Française, in the *Figaro* of 3rd July 1905.

[2] This remark is severe, but, on consideration, I regret to be unable to withdraw it. Since these words were written, the most conspicuous leaders of the clerical party have, as it were, made it their business to prove their accuracy. The very first to do so is M. de Mun, who, forgetting his written words of six months ago, which I have just quoted, in regard to the Separation Law which has not been modified since then in any way, has again taken up his pen, and, in an article entitled "Consummatum est," declares that a "great crime" has just been committed which will have "incalculable consequences," (*Croix*, 8th December 1905). It is only a change of tactics, it will be said with perfect accuracy; but this very word "tactics" characterises the constant attitude of the clerical party. That party never even thinks of trying to influence the political evolution of the country; its attitude towards that evolution is sometimes that of a spectator, sometimes that of an enemy, always hypnotised by its dream of power.

M. de Mun and his friends have no more thought of studying the Separation Law from the religious point of view than from that of the political evolution of France. They have had only one concern—whether and how they can make the law an occasion for overturning, or, at least, controlling, the Republic. Hence their lack of any consistent line of conduct, hence their exhibition of a sometimes grotesque incoherence. Six months ago they thought it a clever policy to taunt those whom they regarded as the responsible authors of separation; now they think it clever to curse them, because they hope to work up an agitation in favour of a change of régime. This is the reason why, at the moment when almost the whole French people and the whole of Europe with them were engaged in paying tributes of respect to the citizen who, having risen from the position of Municipal Councillor in an obscure commune of the Dauphiné to that of President of the Republic, was about to return to the

The law is not perfect—nothing is in this world—but it has been possible to say with good reason that "the debates have been very thorough, very thoughtful; that all the extremely delicate problems that came up for solution were considered with the utmost care by our deputies; that the majority allowed the minority not merely to speak as much as they wanted, but also to co-operate in the work which thus becomes common to all parties."[1]

rank of a private citizen, men who claim to be pupils in the great school of reverence were insulting his honoured old age. On the 17th of December 1905 M. Jacques Piou, in a speech to the *Action Libérale* (*?*) *Populaire*, said :—

"M. Loubet is another Pilate, signing sentences of death and washing his hands of them. His part has been to show himself off and to sign his name. His seven years of office are summed up in three words — proscription, spoliation, persecution."

[1] Pastor L. Lafon in the *Vie Nouvelle* of 8th July 1905.

II

THE POSITION OF THE CLERGY IN FRANCE

THE long details already given will allow me to be comparatively brief in the present chapter: the position of the clergy is the result of what has gone before. I have pointed out some of the disastrous blunders of clericalism; but when the democracy tries to avoid confounding clericalism with the Church, and directs its glance to purely religious matters, it is scarcely less surprised.[1]

Let us consider a few facts. Two years ago Mgr. Le Nordez, Bishop of Dijon, and Mgr. Geay, Bishop of Laval, were accused of abominable offences. Against the former was brought the gravest accusation that could be brought against a man invested with the sacerdotal character, an accusation graver

[1] The book most widely read in Catholic circles just now is that of the Rev. Father Jouët: "Un petit tour par le purgatoire chaque jour en compagnie du Sacré Cœur de Jésus" (a little daily trip round Purgatory in the company of the Sacred Heart of Jesus). It has gone through more than a hundred editions.

even than that of apostasy—the accusation of treason; and a treason, I believe, of a kind not hitherto recorded in ecclesiastical history. Mgr. Le Nordez was said to be a Freemason!

The crime of Mgr. Geay was one more severely regarded by natural morality, but less so by the "supernatural" morality of the Roman congregations; it was only one more *dossier* to be filed with many others in the archives of the Holy Office. Mgr. Geay, according to his accusers, had violated the Abbess of the Carmelite nuns at Laval, and had lived with her on terms of the closest intimacy.

At Dijon, at Laval, in the whole of Catholic France, the scandal was immense. The two bishops met their accusers with indignant denials. They were insulted in their own cathedrals by their own priests.

I pass over the details. The public conscience gave a sigh of relief when it was announced that the Pope had summoned the two bishops, and that their case was going to be tried by the ecclesiastical tribunals. Many men among those who are quite remote from the affairs of the Church had deplored these scandals. Happily every one has not yet the mentality of certain cannibals of the

press. The ferocious joy with which certain journalists exploited the Dijon and Laval affairs was painful.

So, when the sovereign Pontiff had summoned the bishops to Rome, we began to hope that signal justice would be done; that, if the accused were guilty, the Church in the person of its head would vomit them from its mouth in righteous indignation; that, if they were innocent, Mother Church, thrilling with an unspeakable joy, would proclaim to the whole world the innocence of the elders of her people, and taking by the hand the victims of infamous intrigues would restore them in triumph to their episcopal chairs.

We waited expectantly.

A few weeks later it was announced by paragraphs in the Catholic papers, as confused as they were brief, that Mgr. Geay had handed to the Holy Father his resignation of the bishopric of Laval. A few days later still we learned that Mgr. Le Nordez had retired from the See of Dijon. The two bishops remained bishops without dioceses.

The effect of the news on many a Free thinker and on multitudes of Catholics was stupefying. "The bishops must be guilty," it was said, "since Rome has not allowed them to return to their dioceses. But, if they are

guilty, how comes it that the Church, severe and implacable as she is towards dogmatic errors, has no signal punishment for these men who, from the fact that they are bishops, are doubly guilty?"

What passed in that tribunal of the Holy Office whose prefect is the vicar of Jesus Christ? Perhaps we shall never know. The lay conscience awaited a clear decision, a conclusive judgment. The lay conscience was mistaken. These bishops have relatives, friends: perhaps one or the other has an aged mother. The poor old woman, when she sees him celebrate and hears him whisper in the silence of the sanctuary the words which bring God into the Host, will quiver with anguish at the thought of those impure accusations!

I offer the unhappy bishops my sincere commiserations. If they are innocent, the atmosphere of misery and suspicion that surrounds them is the most frightful torture to which a man could be subjected. What pen can describe the misery with which their souls must be overwhelmed? "They gave me gall to eat, and when I was thirsty they gave me vinegar to drink."

If they are guilty, they are still to be pitied for not having been rigorously punished; for

in the severity of the punishment they might perhaps have gradually found restoration and redemption. They would have felt admiration for the chastening hand growing up in their hearts. They would, in a way, have taken pleasure in their punishment, and however bitter it had been, it would perhaps have been less odious than the degradation to which they are actually reduced.

I have lingered to some extent over the affairs of Dijon and Laval, because, if they were little remarked by the public at large, they had an enormous effect on the consciences of certain French Catholics who severely condemned the proceedings of the Holy Office. More than one bishop asked himself in anguish what would become of his honour on the day when it pleased a group of fanatics to concoct some infamous plot against him. The bishops do not believe in the infallibility of the French tribunals, but they would have no fear of appearing before a secular court of justice, while they resolve that in no circumstances will they allow themselves to be dragged before the Holy Office.

And below the bishops, numbers of simple priests who, in the humble position which they occupy, are not exposed to such dramatic dangers, were nevertheless grieved, astonished,

scandalised, to see the tribunals of the Holy See at the dawn of the twentieth century apparently choosing as a model those of the Sublime Porte.

Let us come back again to the intellectual and moral standard of the French episcopate at the present moment. In recent years it has been the fashion to judge them very severely and to declare them very inferior to the episcopate of the Second Empire or the Restoration.[1] Is it not possible that there is some optical illusion in these judgments? The question seems to me too delicate and complex to make a categorical and reasoned opinion possible. One's general impression is that talent, knowledge, virtue, devotedness are met with as frequently among the bishops as in the teaching profession or the magistrature, without any striking difference in favour of the Church. All bishops are saintly bishops—by definition; just as all prefects are devoted prefects—by definition. The first thing that strikes one in the French episcopate is its conservative attitude. Their lordships are addressed in obsolete styles by which they are visibly not displeased. They attach to customs, to precedence, to the Protocol an

[1] See, for example, the book by Baron E. de Mandat-Grancey already quoted (p. 58).

importance that seems singular to ordinary mortals, but it would be unjust to attribute all these weaknesses to their religious training. Bishops are functionaries, and by that fact are exposed to a number of maladies which rage in all administrations. There is a saying of Mgr. Rumeau, Bishop of Angers, which deserves to be preserved, as an expression not so much of the episcopal mentality as of the "inerrancy" which nearly all our functionaries are good enough to attribute to themselves:—"A bishop does not discuss, he does not refute, he condemns!" Are there not prefects and school inspectors who have used similar words?

What is certain is that our bishops have the air of believing themselves something more than human. Like Jesus Christ, they speak a great deal, but unlike Jesus Christ, who spoke in short parables, they speak in long pastorals. These quasi-liturgical documents are read at High Mass—that which the fewest people attend—in a melancholy tone (*in tono epistolæ*). The pious ladies, well aware that they will gain no indulgence by listening to this recitation, avail themselves of the time to tell several decades of their beads and utter a heap of ejaculatory prayers enriched by signal privileges *pro vivis et*

defunctis. In the majority of French dioceses there is no contact between the bishop and his flock beyond the annual reading of the Lenten pastoral. And the idea of wanting anything further never enters the heads of either.

The relations between the bishop and the faithful of his diocese are not, then, appreciably different from the relations between a prefect and the inhabitants of his department. The one has his circuits for confirmations, the other for the *conseil de revision*;[1] the one speaks in the name of the Pope, the other in the name of the Government; but both speak in the empty and grandiloquent style that is prescribed in such circumstances. A few years ago there was an exception; a young, ardent and zealous bishop tried to speak not over the heads of his audience, but to them. It was down by the frontier in a part of the country where unbelief has not yet penetrated. The bishop expressed his joy at the regularity with which they performed all their obligations as Christians: at the attendance at Mass, the frequent communions, the flourishing pious societies; but he added, quite unexpectedly,

[1] [A military commission presided over by the Prefect, which sits every year in the principal towns of the department to draw up the list of young men qualified for military service.]

that all this, excellent as it was, was only a beginning; that the Christian ought to be distinguished from worldly society by his virtues: among others, by his horror of lying, fraud and deceit in any form whatsoever. He descended to precise details, and declared that theft committed to the prejudice of the State by smugglers was no less reprehensible than ordinary theft.

There was a tremendous scandal. In a few days all clerical France learned that there was a bishop somewhere who preached against the "supernatural virtues" and invited his flock to turn up their noses at the Mass and the Confessional. Far and near the pious crossed themselves mournfully, and said to themselves that the appearance of such a bishop was doubtless the prelude to that of Antichrist.

It will be seen that this exception proves the rule. Almost wholly out of touch with the people the bishops seem to live in a land of dreams. I will not stop to speak of certain declarations of war against democracy which outraged public opinion; I will simply recall one recent and particularly grave fact. On 28th March 1905, the French Cardinals met and drew up a document in which they appeared to make a point of showing contemporary France that they are ignorant of

the very elements of its constitution. They addressed to the President of the Republic a joint letter, a proceeding equally reprehensible whether they were ignorant of the fact that the chief magistrate of the country has no authority to receive documents of such a nature, or whether they knew it and wished to show that they were above the law. It is hardly necessary to add that the letter had no result.

After this proceeding, as solemn as it was inopportune, their Eminences returned to their dioceses where they are moaning and praying for the France which does not listen to them.

From various quarters appeals were made to the bishops to meet together and talk about the impending separation, to discuss it with one another and with their priests, even with the public and in the face of public opinion, and to co-operate in the task that was on foot.[1] These appeals were not listened to. The bishops evidently feared that their co-operation would not be accepted. The very idea of opening their mouths in an environment where their words will have only their human value, is antipathetic to them.

With bishops such as have been described,

[1] See, for example, "Politique Religieuse et Séparation" by the Abbé H. Hemmer.

it is not difficult to imagine what the lower clergy will be like. The secular priests of France are a picked body of men, remarkable for its solidarity, homogeneous character and decorum, but, like all great organisms, the clerical body is dogged by special maladies. That particular kind of formalism which might be called pharisaism, has a greater hold on the clergy than on any other body of officials, together with its inseparable twin, sacrosanct routine. These, at least, are the troubles that first strike the spectator. There are others, less apparent but scarcely less formidable. The spectre of delation pursues the priest without respite. It is the fear of being denounced, the terror lest their most innocent movements may be misinterpreted or misrepresented, that have given so many French priests those shrinking manners which revolt the layman, and, even more than the cassock, confine and isolate the priest. In almost every parish there is some good soul to supply the bishop's palace with information as to the books that the *curé* reads and the company that he keeps. Round every bishop is formed as if by instinct a group of benevolent and well-intentioned spies, who keep watch on Monseigneur for the benefit of friends—usually residing in Rome.

In all this there is no element of deliberate organisation, but it is all the more impressive on that account. Among the cardinals of the Curia there are generally three or four who employ their ample leisure in collating the oddest *dossiers*, with the notion that in this way they would be acquainted with the *personnel* of the Church, if at the next Conclave Almighty God thought proper to impose on them the heavy charge of the pontificate.

The parochial clergy are formed in seminaries, the methods of which were perhaps excellent in the seventeenth century but have since then undergone no change. All the education that the child destined for the priesthood receives seems to have for its aim the setting up of a wall of separation between him and his fellow-citizens. The young priests in Paris, when they come out of Saint-Sulpice, have never had a single newspaper at their disposal. These men who are called to evangelise the France of to-day are wholly ignorant of her. They have been taught to make mince-meat of Nestorius and Eutyches, but they have been left in ignorance of all the problems that are presented to the contemporary conscience.

However, some among them have found out some corners of nature and reality, and,

convinced that their Church is divine, they wish to confront the perishing multitudes, to speak to them, to reclaim them, to convince them. In the ardour and enthusiasm of their five-and-twenty years they give themselves to work, study and research. They gain a degree of licentiate[1] and sometimes a doctor's biretta.

One would imagine that the hierarchy would show special favour to such men as these. Nothing of the sort. As a rule the bishops are anxious and troubled about "these fellows." I state the fact without venturing to interpret it. What is certain is, that one could draw up very astonishing statistics, if one studied—for example, in the diocese of Lyons—the career of priests who have taken degrees of licentiate, and compared it with that of priests who have not even the degree of Bachelor of Letters.

The Church has never canonised ignorance, but in some dioceses the course of events suggests that the bishops wish to put a premium on it.[2] There is, however, a modern

[1] [Equivalent to the English degree of Master of Arts, but not, like the latter degree at Oxford and Cambridge, a mere matter of fees for any one who has already taken a Bachelor's degree. It is, on the contrary, much more difficult to obtain than the degree of Bachelor.]

[2] See "La Réforme Intellectuelle du Clergé," by V. P. Saintyves (Paris, 1904).

virtue on which they look with still greater disapproval—initiative. That is, indeed, the sin against the Holy Ghost! the germ of all heresy. And so it comes about that wherever we turn we see the Church cutting itself off from the democracy.

But, it will be said, cannot the Church, which on Good Friday, at the moment of the adoration of the Cross, prays for the Jews; the Church which since the first age of its existence has in accents of infinite emotion besought the Lord to gather in His love all mankind into a single family; the Church which has always sighed after unity and universality; cannot this Church find a new language in which it may throw across to the democracy a bridge of prayer, which, as it were, built by faith and love, shall bring the two civilisations together.

With this dream in my mind I walked up a few days ago to that church on Montmartre, that "basilica of the National Vow," in which the French Catholicism of our generation has symbolised its dreams and aspirations. It was night. None of the sounds of the great city crossed the threshold of the temple. On the altar the monstrance glowed, surrounded by lights and flowers. All at once a hymn burst forth, sung only by men's voices:—

"Pitié, mon Dieu, c'est pour notre patrie
Que nous prions au pied de cet autel . . .
Pitié, mon Dieu! si votre main châtie
Un peuple ingrat qui semble vous braver,
Elle commande à la mort, à la vie,
Par un miracle elle peut nous sauver.

"*Refrain*—Dieu de clémence,
O Dieu vainqueur,
Sauvez Rome et la France
Au nom du Sacré-Cœur."[1]

A shudder and a pang went through me. For in these voices that prayed for France I heard the rage, the rancour, the imprecations of a moribund who will neither reconcile himself to death nor recognise himself again in his heirs.

I conclude, then, this sketch of the position of the Church by saying that what has ruined the Church in France is not its dogmas but its politics, or rather, to be perfectly just and accurate, the disreputable manœuvres by which the Church has been monopolised without, unhappily, making an indignant protest before the world.

[1] "Pity! my God, it is for our country that we pray before this altar. Pity! my God, if Thy hand should chasten this ungrateful people which seems to defy Thee, life and death are in Thy hands, by a miracle Thou canst save us. (*Refrain*) God of Mercy, O God most mighty, save Rome and France in the name of the Sacred Heart."

III

CONSEQUENCES OF THE DENUNCIATION OF THE CONCORDAT

My hand would have refused to write the foregoing pages if I had had nothing to add to them.

That part of the Church in which the upholders of all forms of servitude have taken refuge in their spite and terror, still powerful by reason of the resources that persons haunted with visions analogous to those of the year 1000 may in an access of infatuation throw at its feet—that part of the Church is moribund; nay, it is already dead.

But is this Church the whole Church? To that question, which my readers must have continually put while reading what has gone before, I am happy to be able to reply with a joyous "No."

My joy will astonish those who know that I am not a member of the Church. It is,

nevertheless, real and profound. Life rejoices me wherever I come across it. There is no discussion with corpses.

Once more, the free thinkers who confuse the Church with clericalism are to be excused, since the Church herself has never clearly separated her cause from that of clericalism; but observers who wish to make a study of religious categories must, if they do not want to be misled, pay considerable attention to minorities. Now, while the immense majority of French Catholics were compromising the cause of the Gospel and the faith, there were being sown in a few country presbyteries, in a few cells of seminarists or monks, the seeds of a new order of things.

I am on dangerous ground for those whom I admire. In every corner of Catholic France there are benevolent inquisitors who, for various motives, set up as informers against their colleagues.[1] Delation is, perhaps, the most shameful and the least known stain on

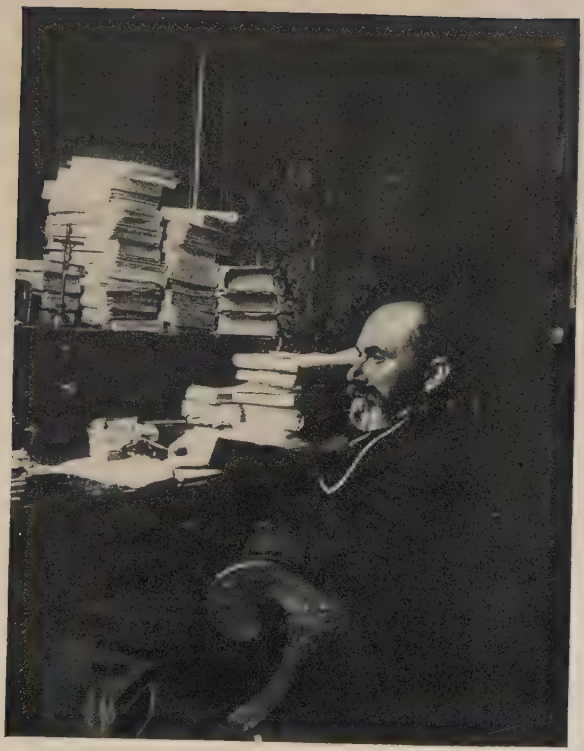
[1] "In reading certain articles," says M. Fonsegrive, the editor of the *Quinzaine*, "one perceives the joy that certain persons feel at the downfall, the open heresy of some Catholic priest or layman whom they dislike. Like the birds that come and fly round houses over which death is hovering, they shout for joy in the mere expectation of a corpse. Foul and unclean birds! We can never feel enough scorn for their spiteful dispositions, enough pity for their sorry plight, enough sorrow for their blindness."

the French clergy. It is necessary that these pages should not serve as an indictment in the hands of the Holy Office detectives. I shall therefore mention only facts that are public property, and merely a small part of what might be said.

That a remarkable change has taken place among the Catholic clergy of France from the scientific point of view has been made patent by the marvellous success of the works of the Abbé Loisy. The books of the celebrated exegetist were not addressed to the public at large. Free thinkers, as a rule, have not very well understood the crisis brought about by this priest who wishes to remain a priest. Protestants have glanced at him without interest, and, understanding no more than the others, have passed by, imagining that M. Loisy's exegesis is little more than a reproduction of Protestant exegesis. It is, therefore, chiefly in Catholic circles that M. Loisy has met, on the one hand, with enthusiastic friends and disciples, on the other, with inveterate opponents.

The uproar was great. Though in appearance pacified, it only waits an opportunity to manifest itself afresh in a painful, nay, tragic form.

What Loisy has done by acquiring liberty



A Poisy

of exegesis, M. Chaine and the Abbés Dabry,[1] Lemire, Naudet have done from the political point of view; Canon Ulysse Chevalier, Mgr. Duchesne, the Abbé Houtin and Father Delehaye, from the historical point of view. M. Edouard le Roy has just done the same thing with brilliant success on what is with us the delicate ground of dogma. Never, for centuries, have Catholics been heard to speak in this tone. On a sudden the abyss between them and freedom of thought disappeared.

M. Edouard le Roy is a layman, but is not that very fact significant? Is it not a strangely novel spectacle to see a member of the *Ecclesia credens*—of the "disciplined Church"—rising, and with equal simplicity and firmness demanding explanations from his mother? The Catholics of yesterday and those of to-morrow are at one in chanting with a like faith and an equal affection: *Credo unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam* (I believe one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church), but the former have made it a kind of point of honour to trust themselves to their mother with their eyes shut. They experience a voluptuous sensation in

[1] It is to M. Dabry that we owe the witty remark: "Could there not be a pilgrimage of priests going to be baptized men?"

throwing themselves into her arms and sleeping there, forgetful of the tempest that rages round them. The others open their eyes—sometimes from curiosity, sometimes from valour and manliness. There is no contradiction between the two states of mind. Father Portalié, S.J., has lifted his hands to heaven and cried: "It is the end of Catholicism!"[1] No, my dear reverend father, it is the end of one Catholicism and the advent of a new Catholicism, or rather it is the rising of new sap in the old religious trunk.

Holy Mother Church may be ill-advised enough to disown, in a fit of anger, the children of her womb — though I have a great difficulty in believing that at this solemn moment she will make the decisive move (*Numquid oblivisci potest mater infantem suum?*) — but she cannot expunge from history the fact that she is their mother.

There is, then, no question of heresy or schism. The anti-clerical associations and the few Protestant sects that watch the movement of Catholic reformation in the hope that it will end by coming their way are deluding themselves completely. It is something deeper

[1] *Études des PP. Jésuites*, 82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, 20th July 1905, p. 162.

and more organic than the movement of the "*Evadés.*"[1]

Protestantism, for which I have the highest possible respect and a little admiration, has scattered over French territory a number of seemly places of worship. There are some for all tastes, or nearly so. And yet the men whom I have in mind will not for a moment think of taking refuge in them. The reason is simple. They look upon Protestantism as a great historical fact, but a fact of the past. "We are no longer in the period of partial heresies," says M. le Roy, and, having thus by a stroke of the pen announced to the reforming experiments of the past how inadequate they are to meet the needs of the present, he goes on to say that "it is the very idea of dogma that repels and gives scandal." This takes us as far from Dr Harnack and from Calvin or Luther as from the stereotyped clericalism which thinks itself the only orthodoxy.

"No authority," says M. le Roy, "can compel me to hold a given argument sound or unsound: above all, no authority can make this or that conception with or without mean-

[1] [The name given to a considerable number of French priests (according to some, as many as nine hundred) who have left the Church within the last few years.]

ing to me. I do not say merely that authority has not the right to do this, but that the thing is radically impossible, for ultimately it is I who think, not the authority that thinks for me. Against this fact nothing can possibly prevail. Nor can I force or forbid myself to find the evidence satisfactory in this or that case" (p. 507)

Here we have a peculiarly flat *non possumus*. And it should be remembered that it appeared, not in an isolated pamphlet launched on the world by its author and involving no other responsibility, but in the *Quinzaine*, the brilliant review which Professor Fonsegrive ("Yves le Querdec") has edited for the last ten years. The group to which M. le Roy belongs must therefore feel themselves strong enough to face without very much concern the lamentations and the wrath of their opponents.

Such facts as these make what is happening in France of intense interest. The wails of those who exclaim against "spoliation" and "persecution" are all of a sudden drowned in trumpet-blasts from unexpected quarters. One swallow does not make a summer, but one has only to take a point of vantage for a moment to see them arriving from all points of the compass. A weekly review has just

been started at Lyons with the title of *Demain*,[1] the prospectus of which strikes a note of confidence:—

"Catholic France is dying. But she is succumbing far less to the attacks of her enemies than to her own shortcomings and to the disfigurements that she has inflicted on herself with her own hand. Cursory observers are surprised at the failure of our religion—which, in fact, is neither understood nor practised rightly—to preserve the spiritual life which is ebbing away from us. Yet no phenomenon could be more explicable than this sterility: Catholic France is becoming less and less Christian. Certainly the external forms of religion remain. But the vessel of election is daily voiding itself of its spiritual and moral content. To such an extent is this the case that with many of our people there survives little more than the habit of forms and ceremonies of which they no longer know the inner significance nor experience the fruitfulness. Can one be astonished if the phantom of religion continues to be ineffective? It is our business first of all to heal ourselves of our own disease. It is clearly demonstrated that we must seek primarily in ourselves the origin of those symptoms of social decadence which so many pharisees—for ever smiting the breasts of others—take a melancholy pleasure

[1] Subscription for Great Britain and all countries in the postal union, 10s. a year post free. Offices: 2 Rue Simon-Maupin, Lyons.

in lamenting, without ever having the humility to lay the blame on themselves. We shall, therefore, not so much contend with outside enemies as cut out the canker from our own hearts. We shall hunt down intellectual evils among the multitude. If Christianity is to survive in France, it must cut itself off from all the parties of reaction, from intellectual no less than from political and social reaction. The critical spirit has penetrated every domain: nothing can stop its progress. The better way is to accommodate ourselves to it and to make use only of scientific methods. For us, every demonstrated truth will be an orthodox truth."

I know well that some may think that we have here a shrewd manœuvre to mislead public opinion, a movement of the "*ralliés*" in a new form. But what right have we to suspect the good faith of those who wrote or signed this document? There are words that have an accent which cannot be mistaken. What I can vouch for from certain knowledge is that the appeal of *Demain* would have been signed by hundreds of ecclesiastics, had not the fear of Mgr. Turinaz,[1] Mgr.

[1] [Bishop of Nancy. He has published several pamphlets attacking all new ideas. His lordship was severely handled by the Abbé Laberthonnière in an article published in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne* for January 1906. He has just published a reply to the present book, in which he denounces as heretics all Catholics—even the most moderate

Delassus,[1] the Abbé Maignen,[2] or Père

—who have any modern or progressive ideas, and declares that it will be to the eternal honour of the French Church that not a single Catholic who had not already "abandoned his faith" was on the side of the "traitors" in the Dreyfus affair. This is an interesting confirmation of M. Sabatier's remarks on page 85 *ante*. The *Comité catholique pour la défense du droit*, which was originally formed to support the demand for the revision of the Dreyfus case, has issued a public protest against his lordship's imputations which is signed by some half-dozen well-known Catholic laymen and contains the following paragraph :—

"Alas ! it is only too true that the great majority of our co-religionists blindly followed the accusers of the Jewish officer. We have no desire to revive old quarrels, but we may be permitted to say that we have to-day to deplore only too bitterly the disastrous consequences of that attitude, which certainly does not justify what is now happening, but in part explains it."

The members of the *Comité*, though few, include such distinguished Catholics as MM. Bérenger, Paul Viollet, Edouard Aynard and Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu.]

[1] [Canon of Cambrai ; one of the protagonists of the diabolist and anti-Masonic movement ; author of "L'Américanisme et la Conjuration anti-chrétienne" (Lille : Desclée, 1899), which contains much original information (*e.g.* that Lord Beaconsfield was Prime Minister of England for forty years in succession) and horrible revelations as to the connection of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and other American Catholic ecclesiastics with Freemasonry and other Satanic agencies. In recognition of Canon Delassus' literary labours, the present Pope conferred upon him, on 7th May 1904, the title of *Monsignore*, with the rank of Domestic Prelate to His Holiness ; and the Catholic University of Lille gave him the degree of Doctor of Theology *honoris causâ*. Mgr. Delassus enjoys also the special favour and confidence of the Archbishop of Cambrai, who has made him editor of the *Semaine Religieuse*, or official diocesan magazine of Cambrai. See Appendix II., p. 169.]

[2] [A protagonist in the campaign against "Americanism" ; author of "Le Père Hecker est-il un Saint?" (Rome and Paris, 1898), "La Souveraineté du Peuple est une Hérésie'

Fontaine,[1] caused the pen to fall from their hand.

As I was writing these lines I received the October number of the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, of which the Abbé Laberthonnière has recently become editor. The tone of his introductory article is very similar to that of *Demain*. All who are interested in the evolution of ideas ought to read it. The conductors of the *Annales* have been fortunate enough to find in St Augustine ("De Trin." ix. 1) a passage which the most modern philosophers would not repudiate. They have adopted it as their motto: "Seek, then, as those seek who needs must find, and find as those who needs must seek again; for it is said: 'He who has reached the goal has but made a start.'"

The pages that follow breathe a delightful atmosphere of faith in truth and in the future, of cheerful optimism. One would like to quote the whole article. The new directors of the review regard belief, not as a stoppage of thought, but, on the contrary, as

(Paris: Roger, 1892), "Nouveau Catholicisme et Nouveau Clergé" (Paris, 1902), and other works.]

[1] [One of the most prominent French Jesuits, and a regular contributor to the *Vérité Française;* author of "Les infiltrations protestantes et le clergé français," 3 volumes (Paris, 1901-1905).]

a spring, so to speak, intended to put thought in motion.

"If there are any who on the pretext of a firm and constant faith think or act as though they considered that they ought not to make their belief a subject of reflection and thus become rooted in a verbal, stereotyped and exclusive dogmatism, we tell them that, far from growing up to the measure of the truth, as they imagine, they are dwarfing the truth to their own measure, and far from coming out of themselves, they are shutting themselves in (p. 10). . . . Every submission that does not come from the very depths of one's being, that is not a voluntary adhesion, arising from spiritual motives, becomes by that very fact illusory and worthless (p. 15). . . . No authority, whatever it may be, can ever effect in us, without our own co-operation, anything of value for the development of our moral and religious life (p. 17). . . . If we wish to content ourselves with being Catholics 'by grace,' that is to say, without any valid reason for being so, we not only run the risk of ceasing to be Catholics at all, we have, in fact, ceased to be so, whatever appearance of Catholicism we may preserve (p. 20). . . . None can contest our right, if we wish to exercise it, to demonstrate to the initiates of the Eleusinian mysteries, from the spiritual abode which as faithful followers of Christ we inhabit under the protection of Peter, that even their most esoteric thoughts neither

escape nor terrify us, and that if they desire to seek the light, to love the truth and to cultivate liberty of soul to the last degree, they should join themselves to us (p. 21)."

I do not think that I am mistaken in saying that free thinkers will consider these expressions entirely legitimate, and that their most undoubted representatives will hail them with joy.

It may be asked how Rome could tolerate in France a Catholicism different from that of the rest of Catholicity. It might be answered that Rome has always shown herself ready to be very accommodating, provided that she received a liberal supply of the external marks of respect that she considers her due. Already the Neapolitans figure in the same religious statistics as English Catholics; yet how great are the intellectual and moral differences between the clients of St Januarius and the Catholics formed in the school of Newman. It is therefore allowable to believe that there may figure in the same statistics to-morrow other Catholics who will still display such differences.

There is another reason why the Church will not have to grant special privileges to France, namely, the fact that the crisis through which French Catholicism is passing, is also mani-

festing itself in all other countries. If any one thinks that I look at the facts too much from an individual point of view, I would refer him to the *Civiltà Cattolica* of 3rd February 1906, pages 257-273, where it is stated that an international movement is spreading in the various countries of Europe. It is manifested everywhere at once, and in most unexpected forms. Even the Italian seminaries, in spite of their prison doors and the close supervision exercised over the reading and the company of the seminarists, are nearly all troubled by the new doctrines; while in England an eminent Catholic has gone so far as to say that Catholicism will have its evolution like Judaism.

The learned and zealous Roman Jesuits who conduct the *Civiltà Cattolica*, terrified by the general character of the movement, are convinced that there is an organised conspiracy, and do me the great honour of supposing that I have a hand in what is going on. Alas! that is not the case; I am hardly more than the watchman, who, from the height of his tower, sees the dawn breaking a little earlier than the dwellers in the plains.

But I am grateful to the Jesuit Fathers for their recognition of the fact that the same

symptoms are to be remarked in all Catholic countries. The same needs produce everywhere the same results: the discrepancies between intellectual habits of thought and the religious life were too great. Men of profound and reasoned faith—and they alone count—were often faced by the alternative of being insincere with themselves or insincere towards God. The present crisis is an effort to arrive at a new synthesis; not by an impossible return to the past, but by a vigorous step forward.

To say that the effort will succeed is not to play the prophet; it is merely to state the fact that the evolution of ideas cannot be arrested. The Church is not an entity; it is the totality of Catholics. The day when all Catholics have passed through the crisis which is now manifesting itself on all sides, the Church will be called upon neither to condone nor to condemn ideas which will be as much its own as are very different ideas to-day.

The "young Catholics" are legion, and henceforth nothing will stop them. All the Catholics of whom I have been speaking have divined the new destinies towards which France is marching. People go about saying that France is anti-Christian and anti-religious.

Those who say so find it necessary to believe it in order to have an excuse for cursing the national aspirations. But in reality the French people are only anti-clerical, and clericalism, in their conception, is, in the widest sense of the term, the traffic in holy things. They are astonished, scandalised, indignant, when they see a priest becoming a political "boss" in the interest of the Count de Chambord or M. Boulanger; and they are hardly less disgusted when a Protestant pastor, haranguing the President of the Republic, reminds him of the devotion of Protestants to democratic institutions.

The great majority of French free thinkers are not, whatever people may say, rabid anti-Christians. They showed that when M. Loisy's last work was published. They honestly applauded it, although M. Loisy is a far more formidable opponent of their cause than are those who give themselves out as the accredited defenders of orthodoxy. The apologetic of the thorough-going traditionalist may possibly satisfy sacristans and Christian Brothers who have no need of intellectual activity nor even a notion of it; but it can only compromise the Church in the eyes of any person of intellect.

Among all the interesting scenes afforded

by life as it is, I know none more remarkable than this unlooked-for coming together of neo-Catholics and free thinkers. A great intellectual, religious, moral, and social crisis is preparing in so many consciences. Doubtless it will never be possible to grasp its origin, its extent, or its import. Who will tell us the history of the grain while it germinates in the bosom of the earth? I have, however, had a momentary glimpse at close quarters of this new life that is germinating in the bosom of the ancient Church, and the experience remains an unspeakable memory.

It was in the house of a seminary professor whose guest I was a few months ago. In the evening a young deacon brought to me a large manuscript book, a kind of confidential journal, in which for three years some pupils of the *grand séminaire* had written down their thoughts, their difficulties, their ideals, their dreams. Never have I seen anything so touching in some respects, so remarkable and so virile in others. How many times, as I passed a file of seminarists, have I not been saddened by the prevalence of hypocritical, bored, deadened, stupid or coarsely sceptical faces. What happiness to think that the antiquated regime followed in these establish-

ments has not succeeded in preventing new flowers from blowing! The dominant notes in the pages that I read were a vigorous craving for sincerity, manliness, effort, initiative; an instinctive aversion from the physically miraculous, from mechanical devotion, rites and incantations; and at the same time an intense love of humanity as it is.

What will happen when France comes to know this new clergy? when she sees before her priests who will not even think of engaging in politics; who, instead of being the slaves of the past, will be its grateful, respectful and intelligent children; who will be witnesses for the ancient faith as men for whom the faith is essentially a power for life, evolution and progress; who, without wasting time in the defence or attack of ancient dogmas and formulæ in which the thought of past ages is crystallised, will be the apostles of peace among nations, the disinterested co-operators in all generous enterprises, the unwearying opponents of all iniquities; who will exhibit the Christian not as a man predisposed by intellectual abdication to inaction and servitude in every form, but as the witness *par excellence* of liberty, on whom no tyranny has a hold.

I believe that in that day France will thrill with indescribable emotion. And, if among the

priests of whom I have spoken, and the free thinkers at whose side they will quite naturally be found, there arise some prophet with overflowing heart and burning words, we shall have in this country a revival of faith such as no other has known.

I quite understand that the gentlemen of the Holy Office must be growing impatient as they try to read between the lines, and I can guess what they are asking: "These Catholics of whom you speak—will they be within the Church or without the Church?" (which being translated into Latin means: "Shall we proceed to severities against them?") I would gladly answer their Eminences' question, if I could; but unhappily historical phenomena refuse without compunction to come within the categories of our poor intelligences or to be filed in our archives.

There were once upon a time a dozen Galilean fishermen who gave the Sacred College of their day plenty to do. They were extremely bad Jews, since they violated the Sabbath, picked and chose among the precepts of the law, and even went so far as to interpret them; and yet they were extremely good Jews, since it was thanks to them, that Judaism became the preface of Christianity. It was no more the case then

than it will be now that the new destroyed the old. The Christianity of to-day, with its Pharisees and Sadducees, will pass into history and be replaced by a new civilisation. But the new will not destroy the old; it will grow out of the old.[1]

If the sketch that I have tried to outline is exact, if the events that are occurring in France are indeed such as I have described, the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions and form his own conception of the results of the denunciation of the Concordat.

I have tried to show that in the Church there are two Catholicisms, that of yesterday and that of to-morrow. The denunciation of the Concordat will complete the ruin of the Catholicism of yesterday or clericalism. I am aware that clericalism may for some years to come seem stronger in the Church than ever. In certain conditions a few irresponsible people will be enough to bring about outbursts of fanaticism.[2] But these will have just as

[1] The reader will find the means of completing what is said here in a very interesting volume by the Abbé Klein, "Quelques Motifs D'espérer" (Paris, 1904).

[2] [This prophecy has already been fulfilled by the disgraceful disturbances in Paris and other places in connection with the taking of the inventory of church property provided for by the Separation Law. In Paris the resistance to the inventory was organised by the Royalist and Nationalist parties, and the "pious hooligans" (to use the words of the *curé* of St Clothilde)

much importance as the demonstrations of the peasants in Brittany or Velay when the police are arresting a sorcerer or a charlatan.

The opponents of democracy will shriek and howl; in their terror they will scatter their gold

who took part in it were chiefly drawn from the Faubourg St Germain and the neighbourhood of the Arc de Triomphe. In St Clothilde they collected in the choir of the church and protected themselves with several rows of footmen, valets and hired ruffians. In those rural districts where the Church is strong (chiefly in Brittany and certain parts of the South) the peasants have been stirred up by being told (of course, falsely) that the inventory is a preliminary to confiscation. The whole agitation is one more proof of the insincerity of the French clericals. The original draft of the Separation Law contained no provision for an inventory; when the measure was before the Briand commission, the Opposition members of the commission proposed, in the interest of the Church, that an inventory should be taken, and the proposal was accepted. It is against this provision, inserted in the Law at the request of their own representatives, that the clericals are now protesting by wrecking their own churches and assaulting officials who are only doing their duty. The necessity of the inventory is shown by the fact that, as soon as the Separation Law was passed, the clergy in the Pas de Calais began selling the ornaments out of their churches to dealers from Paris and London; even the *Vérité Française* published letters protesting against the scandal. Yet these clergy are the very people who declare that it is "sacrilege" to make a list of the ornaments. The Government has behaved with extreme forbearance and has shown every possible consideration for the feelings of Catholics. One agent having demanded that the tabernacle should be opened, the Government at once issued an order that the word of the priest should be taken for the vessels in the tabernacle.

The resistance to the inventories has in some places been accompanied by serious outrages. Near Le Puy on 2nd March,

in handfuls to excite disorders. But the very alliance between the parties of reaction and the clerical Catholics will only make the discredit of the latter complete.

The Catholics of this type have always been, so to speak, "*émigrés*" who have not

the Government Inspector was fired at as he was proceeding to the church, and in several other places in the Haute Loire and the Hautes Alpes, the rioters have been armed not only with scythes and pitchforks, but also with rifles and revolvers. In more than one case a deep pit was dug in front of the church and covered with branches and snow in anticipation of the visit of the officials; the only victim up to the present of this manifestation of practical Christianity has been an unfortunate country postman who was seriously injured. At one of the Versailles churches the *curé* requested the prefect and the inspector to enter the church unattended and not to introduce the police into the building. They agreed, and, as they were walking up the nave, some pious Christians hurled at them, from the organ-loft, pieces wrenched off the organ, chairs, sacred pictures and other missiles, the *vicaires* (*i.e.*, the curates of the parish) meanwhile egging on their flock. The prefect was rather badly hurt. Naturally such proceedings as these have revolted every decent person in France; some of the papers that were strongly opposed to Separation, such as the *Temps*, have condemned the agitation severely, as also have well-known Catholics such as M. Brunetière, Count d'Haussonville, the Abbé Lemire, the Abbé Gayraud and others. Efforts have been made without success to induce Cardinal Richard to interfere. Some of the bishops, *e.g.*, the Archbishop of Toulouse and the Bishops of Nancy and Quimper, are openly encouraging the rioters, as are many of the clergy; still more are, like the Pope and Cardinal Richard, giving consent by their silence.

The rioters, however, represent only a very small fraction of the population, and at the time of writing about five-sixths of the inventories have been taken, the great majority without disturbance.]

emigrated. And when clericalism invites us to look across to Germany and admire the edifying spectacle of William II. seeking the support of the Vatican, the French "young Catholics" are even more scandalised than free thinkers themselves. The proceedings at the recent conference of German Catholics at Strasbourg deeply affected them. France heard the echo of those proceedings with profound astonishment and genuine sorrow. It may be said that they did not concern us. But where is the man who is not affected by a shipwreck? The shouts of joy raised by German Catholics saddened us as one is saddened by the joy of a poor girl who is sacrificing her youth to some financial magnate.

This concentration of clericalism and its alliance with despotism will bring the "young Catholics" nearer and nearer to the democracy and the free thinkers. M. Jaurès and the Abbé Hemmer have already met on the neutral ground of liberty and reason.[1] Last winter we had in Paris the novel experience of informal debates in which such leaders of free thought as M. Buisson, M. Séailles and M. Seignobos amicably discussed the question of Separation with some of the most prominent

[1] See Hemmer, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

men among the Catholic clergy. These *Libres Entretiens* are going to be continued.[1]

Now this contact between the democracy and the "young Catholics" must inevitably have far-reaching effects on the democracy. Already there are signs of interest in moral questions and of religious aspirations among some of the representatives of socialism. In that quarter have been found the most efficient workers in the campaigns against intemperance, pornography, the "white slave" traffic and war. This is only a beginning. The French people will henceforth understand the futility of politics and self-indulgent amusement. They

[1] The *Libres Entretiens* are conversations that actually take place on the most important questions of the day between persons desirous of obtaining mutual information by the critical method. To these conversations are invited, in a consultative capacity, the best-informed men on the question under discussion that can now be found in Paris. The conversations are held at four o'clock on Sunday afternoon every three weeks, in the hall of the "Union pour la Vérité," 6 Impasse Ronsin, 152 Rue de Vaugirard, Paris, where there is accommodation for eighty people. Careful verbatim reports of these conversations, revised by the speakers themselves, are published every three weeks under the title of *Libres Entretiens*. The subject of the current series of discussions, which began on Sunday, 12th November 1905, is Internationalism. It is proposed to analyse objectively and critically, the facts, whether of an economic, social, political, juridical or intellectual character, which are now modifying the relations between civilised nations, with the object of enquiring frankly and without prejudice whether these facts of every kind make it necessary to revise the traditional information and sentiments in regard to patriotism.

are seeking an ideal which they would not seek unless, as Pascal has it, they had already found it.

Listen to the words that are being spoken to the French people by some of those to whose advice it is most ready to listen—men whom the clericalists have tried to discredit by calling them the "pontiffs of free thought," a Berthelot, a Buisson, a Séailles. Certainly there are very many churches whose members might be congratulated if they had succeeded in finding such men to represent them. Pontiffs these of a very novel type, since they excommunicate nobody, and constantly preach to their faithful the duty of respecting all convictions.

So much the worse for the old Churches if they do not perceive what an immense change is being effected in the mental attitude of the French people; if they persist in thinking that the most influential leaders of the democracy are mere demagogues who whet the appetites of the masses by the violence of their language.[1] The time for that sort

[1] I am happy to be able to say that the moral and religious character of even the most extreme aspirations of the present day has been noted by a contemporary Christian writer, M. T. Fallot, in "Le Livre de l'Action Bonne" (Paris: Fischbacher, 1905).

"Revolutionary Socialism," he writes, "is an extraordinarily

of thing has gone by, and it is not uncommon to find in revolutionary tracts pages which remind one of Isaiah or St Paul. I do not wish to canonise M. Deherme, but, if one put on one side of the scales the series of his "Co-opération des Idées," and on the other side some volumes of the most fashionable sermons, in which scale would be the balance of religious spirit and disinterested zeal for the moral progress of our generation? "Jesus said unto them: Verily I say unto you that the publicans and the harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before you."

I open the last number of the publication of this unbeliever and read :—

"Never has man had at his disposal so great material power, such copious resources, never has he been assured of such complete security and such steady comfort, and never has he been so near to despair and, with all his knowledge and his riches, so miserable at bottom. Let each one look round him, underneath poses and appearances, and look

complex phenomenon, a world in fusion, wherein good and evil — entirely legitimate aspirations and grossly material desires—violently contend for the mastery. One must, therefore, rise very high to get anything like a clear and comprehensive view in such chaotic conditions. I am not now concerned with the economic significance of the movement, but I must say that it is impossible to contest its high moral import. It is a passionate protest against iniquity, and an immense effort to organise the world on a basis of justice."

sincerely into his own heart. Be he the workman toiling in the noisy and dusty factory, the peasant bending over his land under the sweltering autumn sun, the manufacturer or the merchant, the professor, the barrister, or the civil servant in any of his many varieties, or even the parasite who spends his useless days on the race-course and his shameful nights in smart taverns, he would admit the same disgust of being what he is, with no other aim but that whose limitations he has realised—with the same weary and hesitating desire to be some other than what he is, no matter what—if only he may yet have a few hours of illusion about himself and the world that he has made for himself."[1]

When a civilisation realises its emptiness to this extent, it is not far from the way to Damascus.

To sum up, there are in France at the present moment only two categories of persons: those who have inherited from the past a treasure which they jealously guard without being willing to look at it themselves or let it be seen by others, and those who, whatever be the treasure that has been bequeathed them, direct their thoughts, their desires, and their steps towards the future.

The Revolution of 1789 was only a pre-

[1] "Co-opération des Idées," September-October 1905, p. 519.

liminary lightning flash, the anticipation of a fundamental and organic reformation.[1] Lay France is preparing to write the book of which the Declaration of the Rights of Man was but one chapter, and in this work lay France will be aided by the *élite* of the clergy. Clericalists may treat these priests as apostates; their cries of hate will not even reach the ears of the workers in this great

[1] But for the difficulties created by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the Revolution would have had a very different fate. The (relative) check to the movement of 1789 was mainly due to clerical opposition. The majority of clericals, remembering these facts, are now celebrating in advance the total suppression of democracy and intoxicating themselves with the anticipation of the terrible vengeance of God (of which they will naturally be the instruments). I would not for the world distress them, but I am bound to tell them that, in their enthusiasm, they take no account of the difference between the two periods. In 1789 the French people (except their lordships of the nobility and the higher clergy) was profoundly Catholic and ingenuously believing. To-day the French people is neither Catholic nor believing. Even in those districts where the services are well attended it would be difficult to find any considerable number of people, other than illiterates, who accept without reserve the whole body of Catholic dogma.

I would therefore respectfully call the attention of those who persistently repeat that the Church has got over many other crises to the fact that the present crisis bears no resemblance to those that have preceded it. A few years ago the same people said much the same thing and defied Parliament to pass the laws against the monks. The laws were passed and put in force; the monks departed, and not only did France fail to rise in their defence, but the demonstrations that were adroitly organised failed utterly and miserably. The poor monks were obliged to cross the frontier amid general indifference.

cause. There will then be a new Catholicism in which earnestness, hard work, manliness, love will be the supreme virtues, a Catholicism which will resemble the old no more than the butterfly resembles the chrysalis, and yet it will be the old, and will be able to-morrow to emblazon on the pediments of its temples the words of the Galilean : "*Non veni solvere, sed adimplere*"—"I am not come to destroy but to fulfil."

APPENDIX I

TEXT OF THE LAW OF 10TH DECEMBER 1905, FOR THE SEPARATION OF THE CHURCHES AND THE STATE.

TITRE PREMIER

PRINCIPES

Article premier. La République assure la liberté de conscience. Elle garantit le libre exercice des cultes sous les seules restrictions édictées ci-après dans l'intérêt de l'ordre public.

Art. 2. La République ne reconnaît, ne salarie ni ne subventionne aucun culte. En conséquence, à partir du 1er janvier qui suivra la promulgation de la présente loi, seront supprimées des budgets de l'Etat, des départements et des communes, toutes dépenses relatives à l'exercice des cultes. Pourront toutefois être inscrites auxdits budgets les dépenses relatives à des services d'aumônerie et destinées à assurer le libre exercice des cultes dans les établissements publics tels

CHAPTER I

PRINCIPLES

Art. 1. The Republic assures liberty of conscience, and guarantees the free practice of religions, subject only to the restrictions hereinafter enacted in the interest of public order.

This declaratory clause is carried into effect by Article 44 (the last of the Act), which repeals all the existing laws restricting the practice of religion and public worship. Henceforth there will be no legal regulations affecting religious bodies save those contained in the present law.

Art. 2. The Republic neither recognises nor salaries nor subsidises any religion. Consequently, on and after the first day of January next after the promulgation of the present law, will be omitted from the budgets of the State, of the departments and of the communes, all expenses connected with the practice of religions. Nevertheless, there may still be included in the said budgets expenses connected with the provision of chaplains and intended to ensure the free

que lycées, collèges, écoles, hospices, asiles et prisons.

Les établissements publics du culte sont supprimés, sous réserve des dispositions énoncées à l'article 3.

practice of religions in public institutions, such as *lycées*, colleges, schools, hospitals, asylums, and prisons.

The public religious establishments are hereby suppressed, subject to the provisions of Article 3 hereof.

The promulgation of a French law by the President of the Republic answers to the royal assent in England. The present law was promulgated on 10th December 1905; it, therefore, came into force on the first of January 1906. The "public religious establishments" are those of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish bodies recognised by the Concordat, whose ministers are paid by the State. They are represented by certain legal corporations, such as the *Conseil de Fabrique*, or body of churchwardens, who are responsible for the maintenance of the parish church and presbytery, and manage the finances of a Catholic parish. All these corporations are now legally dissolved, though by the next Article it is provided that they shall continue temporarily for a given period, during which the State salaries will, of course, continue to be paid.

The provision for the continued services of chaplains in public institutions is necessary to ensure the inmates of such institutions religious ministrations, if they desire them. The inclusion of this provision shows the absence of anti-religious bias in the law.

TITRE II

ATTRIBUTION DES BIENS.— PENSIONS

Art. 3. Les établissements dont la suppression est ordonnée par l'article 2 continueront provisoirement de fonctionner, conformément aux dispositions

CHAPTER II

ASSIGNMENT OF PROPERTY.— PENSIONS

Art. 3. The establishments of which the suppression is enacted by Article 2 shall continue to exercise their functions provisionally, according to their

qui les régissent actuellement, jusqu'à l'attribution de leurs biens aux associations prévues par le titre IV., et au plus tard jusqu'à l'expiration du délai ci-après.

Dès la promulgation de la présente loi, il sera procédé par les agents de l'administration des domaines à l'inventaire descriptif et estimatif :—

1. Des biens mobiliers et immobiliers desdits établissements ;

2. Des biens de l'Etat, des départements et des communes dont les mêmes établissements ont la jouissance.

Ce double inventaire sera dressé contradictoirement avec les représentaux légaux des établissements ecclésiastiques ou eux dûment appelés par une notification faite en la forme administrative.

Les agents chargés de l'inventaire auront le droit de se faire communiquer tous titres et documents utiles à leurs opérations.

existing regulations, until the assignment of their property to the associations provided for by Chapter IV., and at latest until the expiration of the period stated below.

Immediately after the promulgation of the present law, the inspectors of the Department of Public Lands shall proceed to a descriptive inventory and valuation :—

1. Of the real and personal property of the said establishments.

2. Of the property of the State, of the departments, and of the communes, of which the same establishments have the use.

This two-fold inventory shall be drawn up in the presence of the legal representatives of the ecclesiastical establishments, who shall have the right to be heard thereon, or after they have been duly cited by a notification in administrative form.

The inspectors intrusted with the inventory shall have the right to inspect all title-deeds and documents serviceable for their work.

The making of this inventory led to the recent disturbances in certain French churches. The inventory is, of course, absolutely necessary to effect the transference of the property of the Church to its new legal representatives, and is entirely in the interest of the Church itself. There was no provision for an inventory in the original text of the law, and it was added at the request of the clerical opposition.

Art. 4. Dans le délai d'un an à partir de la promulgation de la présente loi, les biens mobiliers et immobiliers des menses, fabriques, conseils presbytéraux,

Art. 4. Within a year from the date of the promulgation of the present law, the real and personal property of the *menses*, *conseils de fabrique*, presbyteral

consistoires et autres établissements publics du culte seront, avec toutes les charges et obligations qui les grèvent et avec leur affectation speciale, transférés par les représentants légaux de ces établissements aux associations qui, en se conformant aux règles d'organisation générale du culte dont elles se proposent d'assurer l'exercice, se seront légalement formées, suivant les prescriptions de l'article 19, pour l'exercice de ce culte dans les anciennes circonscriptions desdits établissements.

councils, consistories and other public religious establishments, subject to all the charges and obligations with which they are encumbered, and without prejudice to any special purposes for which any part of them may be earmarked, shall be transferred by the legal representatives of those establishments to the associations complying with the general rules of organisation of the religion of which they propose to ensure the practice, which shall be legally formed according to the provisions of Article 19 for the practice of that religion in the former districts of the said establishments.

The effect of this clause is to ensure that the property shall be transferred to the representatives of the religion that now has the use of it. The principle of the clause is analogous to that of the decision of the House of Lords in the Scottish Church case. Should it ever happen, for instance, that Roman Catholics became a very small minority, they would retain the Church property and the use of the cathedrals and churches (Art. 13), in every place where they were sufficiently numerous to form an association under Article 19. Even if the whole of the Catholics, with the exception of a score, in a commune with less than 20,000 inhabitants, seceded from the Church, the minority recognised by the Bishop would retain the church building and property. This clause, it will be seen, is extraordinarily favourable to the Roman Catholic authorities and is in itself a convincing proof of the conciliatory spirit in which the law is conceived. (Cf. Art. 8.) The *menses* are endowments of bishoprics, chapters, etc., dating from before the Concordat.

Art. 5. Ceux des biens désignés à l'article précédent qui proviennent de l'Etat et

Art. 5. That portion of the property denoted in the foregoing Article which issues from

qui ne sont pas grevés d'une fondation pieuse créée postérieurement à la loi du 18 germinal an X feront retour à l'Etat.

Les attributions de biens ne pourront être faîtes par les établissements ecclésiastiques qu'un mois après la promulgation du règlement d'administration publique prévu à l'article 43. Faute de quoi la nullité pourra en être demandée devant le tribunal civil par toute partie intéressée ou par le ministère public.

En cas d'aliénation par l'association cultuelle de valeurs mobilières ou d'immeubles faisant partie du patrimoine de l'établissement dissous, le montant du produit de la vente devra être employé en titres de rente nominatifs ou dans les conditions prévues au paragraphe 2 de l'article 22.

L'acquéreur des biens aliénés sera personnellement responsable de la régularité de cet emploi.

Les biens revendiqués par l'Etat, les départements ou les communes ne pourront être aliénés, transformés ni modifiés jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été statué sur la revendication par les tribunaux compétents.

Art. 6. Les associations attributaires des biens des établissements ecclésiastiques supprimés seront tenues des dettes de ces établissements, ainsi que de leurs emprunts, sous réserve des dispositions

the State and is not encumbered with a pious foundation of a date posterior to the law of 18 Germinal, Year X, shall revert to the State.

The assignment of property shall not be made by the ecclesiastical establishments until a month after the promulgation of the public administrative bye-law provided for in Article 43. In the event of an earlier assignment, its annulment may be claimed in the civil court by any interested party or by the public prosecutor.

In the case of alienation by the religious association of personal or real property forming part of the patrimony of the dissolved establishment, the total proceeds of the sale must be invested in registered stock or used under the conditions provided for in the second paragraph of Article 22.

The purchaser of alienated property will be personally responsible for the regularity of this use.

Property claimed by the State, by the departments, or by the communes, shall not be alienated, converted, or dealt with in any way until the claim has been adjudicated upon by the competent tribunals.

The law of 18 Germinal, Year X (*i.e.*, 18th April 1802), is the law which enacted the Concordat and the Organic Articles.

Art. 6. The associations to which are assigned the property of the suppressed ecclesiastical establishments shall be held responsible for the debts of those establishments, as also for any loans that they may have con-

du troisième paragraphe du présent article ; tant qu'elles ne seront pas libérées de ce passif, elles auront droit à la jouissance des biens productifs de revenus qui doivent faire retour à l'Etat en vertu de l'article 5.

Le revenu global desdits biens reste affecté au payement du reliquat des dettes régulières et légales de l'établissement public supprimé, lorsqu'il ne se sera formé aucune association cultuelle apte à recueillir le patrimoine de cet établissement.

Les annuités des emprunts contractés pour dépenses relatives aux édifices religieux seront supportées par les associations en proportion du temps pendant lequel elles auront l'usage de ces édifices par application des dispositions du titre III.

Dans le cas où l'Etat, les départements ou les communes rentreront en possession de ceux des édifices dont ils sont propriétaires, ils seront responsables des dettes régulièrement contractées et afférantes auxdits édifices.

Art. 7. Les biens mobiliers ou immobiliers grevés d'une affectation charitable ou de toute autre affectation étrangère à l'exercice du culte seront attribués, par les représentants légaux des établissements ecclésiastiques, aux services ou établissements publics ou d'utilité publique dont la destination est conforme à celle desdits biens. Cette attribution devra être approuvée par le préfet du département où siège l'établisse-

tracted, subject to the provisions of the third paragraph of the present Article ; so long as they have not discharged these liabilities they shall have a right to the use of the revenues of the property reverting to the State in pursuance of Article 5.

The total revenue of the said property shall be earmarked for the payment of the balance of the regular and legal debts of the suppressed public establishment, when no religious association shall have been formed that is qualified to take over the patrimony of that establishment.

The interest on loans contracted for expenses in connection with religious buildings shall be paid by the associations in proportion to the time during which they shall have the use of such buildings under the provisions of Chapter III.

In case the State, the departments, or the communes, shall re-enter into possession of buildings of which they are proprietors, they shall be responsible for debts legally contracted and attaching to the said buildings.

Art. 7. Personal or real property devoted to a charitable foundation or to any other purpose extraneous to the practice of religion shall be assigned by the legal representatives of the ecclesiastical establishments to public services or institutions, or to services or institutions declared "of public utility," the purpose of which is similar to that of the said foundations. Such assignment must be approved by the prefect of the Depart-

ment ecclésiastique. En cas de non-approbation, il sera statué par décret en Conseil d'Etat.

Toute action en reprise ou en revendication devra être exercée dans un délai de six mois à partir du jour où l'arrêté préfectoral ou le décret approuvant l'attribution aura été inséré au *Journal Officiel*. L'action ne pourra être intentée qu'en raison de donations ou de legs et seulement par les auteurs et leurs héritiers en ligne directe.

Art. 8. Faute par un établissement ecclésiastique d'avoir, dans le délai fixé par l'article 4, procédé aux attributions ci-dessus prescrites, il y sera pourvu par décret.

A l'expiration dudit délai, les biens à attribuer seront, jusqu'à leur attribution, placés sous séquestre.

Dans le cas où les biens attribués en vertu de l'article 4 et du paragraphe 1er du présent article seront, soit dès l'origine, soit dans la suite, réclamés par plusieurs associations formées pour l'exercice du même culte, l'attribution qui en aura été faite par les représentants de l'établissement ou par décret pourra être contestée devant le Conseil d'Etat statuant au contentieux, lequel prononcera en tenant compte de toutes les circonstances de fait.

La demande sera introduite devant le Conseil d'Etat, dans le délai d'un an à partir de la date du décret ou à partir de la

ment in which the ecclesiastical establishment is situated. In case the approval is withheld, the matter shall be decided by decree in Council of State.

Any action for re-entry or claim must be taken within six months of the day on which the prefect's order or the decree approving the assignment shall have been published in the *Journal Officiel*. Such action can be entered only in respect of donations or legacies and only by the actual donors or their descendants in the direct line.

Art. 8. In the event of an association having failed to proceed, within the period fixed by Article 4, to the assignments above prescribed, the assignment shall be provided for by decree.

At the expiration of the said period the property to be assigned shall, until its assignment, be placed under sequestration.

In cases where the property assigned in pursuance of Article 4, and of the first paragraph of the present Article, is claimed either at once or subsequently by several associations formed for the practice of the same religion, the assignment which may have been made of such property either by the representatives of the establishment or by decree may be contested before the Council of State in its judicial capacity, which shall give its decision after taking into account all the circumstances of fact.

The application shall be made to the Council of State within a year of the date of the decree, or of the notification to the pre-

notification à l'autorité préfectorale, par les représentants légaux des établissements publics du culte, de l'attribution effectuée par eux. Cette notification devra être faite dans le délai d'un mois.

L'attribution pourra être ultérieurement contestée en cas de scission dans l'association nantie, de création d'association nouvelle par suite d'une modification dans le territoire de la circonscription ecclésiastique et dans le cas où l'association attributaire n'est plus en mesure de remplir son objet.

fectorial authority, by the legal representatives of the public establishments of the religion concerned, of the assignment made by them. Such notification must be made within a month of the assignment.

The assignment may be subsequently contested in case of a division in the association possessed of the property, or of the creation of a new association in consequence of a change in the area of the ecclesiastical district; or in case the beneficiary association is no longer in a position to fulfil its object.

It has been contended that the third paragraph of this clause nullifies Article 4 (q.v.), but there is no ground for the contention. One of the first circumstances of fact that the Council of State will have to take into account will be the question which of the rival associations satisfies the requirements of Article 4, *i.e.*, if Catholic associations are concerned, which is recognised by the Bishop in communion with Rome. The Council of State has no power to set aside the explicit provisions of Article 4.

It was obviously necessary to provide some authority to adjudicate upon rival claims, and the clerical suggestion that the Bishop should be the authority could hardly be accepted by Parliament. In questions of property the State must be supreme.

The last paragraph of this Article is a further application of the principle of Article 4. Its effect would be that, in the event of a priest and the large majority of his flock being excommunicated by the Bishop, the small minority supported by the Bishop could secure the property and the use of the church; and in the event (an unlikely one!) of a whole Catholic association seceding from the Church, it would lose the property and the use of the parish church, provided there were enough orthodox Catholics

in the parish to form a new association.

The French Council of State, which answers roughly to the English Privy Council, is, like the latter, both an executive and a judicial body.

Art. 9. A défaut de toute association pour recueillir les biens d'un établissement public du culte, ces biens seront attribués par décret aux établissements communaux d'assistance ou de bienfaisance situés dans les limites territoriales de la circonscription ecclésiastique intéressée.

En cas de dissolution d'une association, les biens qui lui auront été dévolus en exécution des articles 4 et 8 seront attribués par décret rendu en Conseil d'Etat, soit à des associations analogues dans la même circonscription ou, à leur défaut, dans les circonscriptions les plus voisines, soit aux établissements visés au paragraphe premier du présent article.

Toute action en reprise ou en revendication devra être exercée dans un délai de six mois à partir du jour où le décret aura été inséré au *Journal Officiel*. L'action ne pourra être intentée qu'en raison de donations ou de legs et seulement par les auteurs et leurs héritiers en ligne directe.

Art. 10. Les attributions prévues par les articles précédents ne donnent lieu à aucune perception au profit du Trésor.

Art. 11. Les ministres des cultes qui, lors de la promulgation de la présente loi, seront âgés de plus de soixante ans révolus et qui auront, pendant

Art. 9. In default of any association to take over the property of a public religious establishment, such property shall be assigned by decree to the communal institutions for poor relief or to the public charities situate within the boundaries of the ecclesiastical district concerned.

In case of the dissolution of an association, the property which shall have been conveyed to it under Articles 4 and 8 shall be assigned by decree in Council of State either to similar associations in the same district or, in default of such, in the adjoining districts, or to the institutions mentioned in the first paragraph of this Article.

Any action for re-entry or claim must be taken within six months of the date of the publication of the decree in the *Journal Officiel*. Such action can be entered only in respect of donations or legacies and only by the actual donors or their descendants in the direct line.

Art. 10. The assignments provided for by the foregoing Articles shall be exempt from all Treasury fees.

Art. 11. Ministers of religion who, at the time of the promulgation of the present law, shall have completed their sixtieth year and shall have held

trente ans au moins, rempli des fonctions ecclésiastiques rémunérées par l'Etat recevront une pension annuelle et viagère égale aux trois quarts de leur traitement.

Ceux qui seront âgés de plus de quarante-cinq ans et qui auront, pendant vingt ans au moins, rempli des fonctions ecclésiastiques rémunérées par l'Etat, recevront une pension annuelle et viagère égale à la moitié de leur traitement.

Les pensions allouées par les deux paragraphes précédents ne pourront pas dépasser 1,500 fr.

En cas de décès des titulaires, ces pensions seront réversibles, jusqu'à concurrence de la moitié de leur montant, au profit de la veuve et des orphelins mineurs laissés par le défunt, et jusqu'à concurrence du quart, au profit de la veuve sans enfants mineurs. A la majorité des orphelins, leur pension s'éteindra de plein droit.

Les ministres des cultes actuellement salariés par l'Etat, qui ne seront pas dans les conditions ci-dessus, recevront, pendant quatre ans à partir de la suppression du budget des cultes, une allocation égale à la totalité de leur traitement pour la première année, aux deux tiers pour la deuxième, à la moitié pour la troisième, au tiers pour la quatrième.

Toutefois, dans les communes de moins de 1,000 habitants et pour les ministres des cultes qui continueront à y remplir leurs fonctions, la durée de chacune des quatre périodes ci-dessus indiquée sera doublée.

ecclesiastical offices salaried by the State for at least thirty years, shall receive an annual pension for life equal to three-fourths of their salary.

Those who shall be more than forty-five years of age and shall have held ecclesiastical offices salaried by the State for at least twenty years shall receive an annual pension for life equal to the half of their salary.

The pensions granted by the two foregoing paragraphs shall not exceed 1,500 francs (£60).

In case of the decease of their holders, such pensions shall be transferable, to the extent of one-half of their total amount, in favour of the widow and orphans under age left by the deceased, and to the extent of one quarter in favour of a widow without children under age. When the orphans attain their majority their pension shall lapse *ipso facto*.

Ministers of religion at present salaried by the State who shall not be in the conditions above mentioned shall, for a period of four years after the suppression of the Budget of Religions, receive a grant equal to the whole of their salary for the first year, to two-thirds for the second, to a half for the third, and to a third for the fourth.

Moreover, in communes of less than 1,000 inhabitants, and for ministers of religion who shall continue to fulfil their functions in the same, the duration of each of the four periods mentioned above shall be doubled.

Les départements et les communes pourront, sous les mêmes conditions que l'Etat, accorder aux ministres des cultes actuellement salariés par eux des pensions ou des allocations établies sur la même base et pour une égale durée.

Réserve est faite des droits acquis en matière de pensions par application de la législation antérieure, ainsi que des secours accordés soit aux anciens ministres des différents cultes, soit à leur famille.

Les pensions prévues aux deux premiers paragraphes du présent article ne pourront se cumuler avec toute autre pension ou tout autre traitement alloué, à titre quelconque, par l'Etat, les départements ou les communes.

La loi du 27 juin 1885, relative au personnel des facultés de théologie catholique supprimées, est applicable aux professeurs, chargés de cours, maîtres de conférence et étudiants des facultés de théologie protestante.

Les pensions et allocations prévues ci-dessus seront incessibles et insaisissables dans les mêmes conditions que les pensions civiles. Elles cesseront de plein droit en cas de condamnation à une peine afflictive ou infamante, ou en cas de condamnation pour l'un des délits prévus aux articles 34 et 35 de la présente loi.

Le droit à l'obtention ou à la jouissance d'une pension ou allocation sera suspendu par les circonstances qui font perdre

The departments and communes may, under the same conditions as the State, grant ministers of religion, at present salaried by them, pensions or allowances calculated on the same basis and for the same period.

These provisions are without prejudice to the rights acquired in the matter of pensions by the effect of previous legislation, as well as to assistance given to former ministers of the various religions or to their families.

The pensions provided for in the first two paragraphs of the present Article shall not be held concurrently with any other pensions or stipends paid on any title whatsoever by the State, the departments, or the communes.

The law of 27th June 1885, relating to the *personnel* of the suppressed Faculties of Catholic Theology, is applicable to professors, lecturers, readers, and students of the Faculties of Protestant Theology.

The pensions and allowances above provided for shall be untransferable and exempt from distraint under the same condition as civil pensions. They shall cease *ipso facto* in case of condemnation to penal servitude or other degrading punishment or in case of condemnation for one of the offences provided for in Articles 34 and 35 of the present law.

The right to obtain or enjoy a pension or an allowance shall be suspended by circumstances which cause a man to lose his

la qualité de Français, durant la privation de cette qualité.

Les demandes de pension devront être, sous peine de forclusion, formées dans le délai d'un an après la promulgation de la loi.

French nationality during the period of his loss of that nationality.

Applications for pensions must be made within a year after the promulgation of the present law; otherwise they will be debarred.

The salaries now paid are far from high. The average salary of a country *curé* is about 1,000 francs (£40) a year. Nevertheless it is felt by many people in France quite free from clericalist sympathies that the scale of pensions might reasonably have been more generous. The ministers of religion concerned are in the position of civil servants whose posts have been abolished; and they entered their career on the understanding that they would receive State salaries for life. The Protestant pastors will be the most affected.

TITRE III

DES ÉDIFICES DES CULTES

Art. 12. Les édifices qui ont été mis à la disposition de la nation et qui, en vertu de la loi du 18 germinal an X., servant à l'exercice public des cultes ou au logement de leurs ministres (cathédrales, églises, chapelles, temples, synagogues, archevêchés, évêchés, presbytères, séminaires), ainsi que leurs dépendances immobilières et les objets mobiliers qui les garnissaient au moment où lesdits édifices ont été remis aux cultes, sont et demeurent propriétés de l'Etat, des départements et des communes.

Pour ces édifices, comme pour

CHAPTER III

ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS

Art. 12. Buildings which have been placed at the disposal of the nation and which, in pursuance of the Law of 18 Germinal, Year X., serve for the public worship of the various religions or for the housing of their ministers (cathedrals, churches, chapels, temples, synagogues, archbishops' and bishops' houses, presbyteries, seminaries), together with their out-buildings, appurtenances and premises, and the furniture which they contained at the time when the said buildings were handed over to the religions, are and shall remain the property of the State, of the departments, and of the communes.

In the case of these buildings,

ceux, postérieurs à la loi du 18 germinal an X., dont l'Etat, les départements et les communes seraient propriétaires, y compris les facultés de théologie protestante, il sera procédé conformément aux dispositions des articles suivants.

as of those of a date later than the Law of 18 Germinal, Year X., of which the State, the departments and the communes are the proprietors, including the Faculties of Protestant Theology, the procedure will be in accordance with the provisions of the following Articles.

The buildings later than the Concordat, referred to in this Article, are those which have been built at the public expense, as is the case with many modern churches.

Art. 13. Les édifices servant à l'exercice public du culte, ainsi que les objets mobiliers les garnissant, seront laissés gratuitement à la disposition des établissements publics du culte, puis des associations appelées à les remplacer auxquelles les biens de ces établissements auront été attribués par application des dispositions du titre II.

La cessation de cette jouissance, et s'il y a lieu son transfert seront prononcés par décret, sauf recours au Conseil d'Etat statuant au contentieux :—

1° Si l'association bénéficiaire est dissoute ;

2° Si, en dehors des cas de force majeure, le culte cesse d'être célébré pendant plus de six mois consécutifs ;

3° Si la conservation de l'édifice ou celle des objets mobiliers classés en vertu de la loi de 1887 et de l'article 16 de la présente loi est compromise par insuffisance d'entretien, et après mise en demeure dûment notifiée du conseil municipal, ou à son défaut, du préfet ;

4° Si l'association cesse de

Art. 13. Buildings used for public worship, together with their furniture and fittings, shall be left gratuitously at the disposal of the public religious establishments, and then of the associations called upon to replace them to which the property of such establishments shall have been assigned by application of the provisions of Chapter II.

The cessation of this possession, and if need be its transfer, shall be pronounced by decree, with a right of appeal to the Council of State in its judicial capacity :—

1. If the beneficiary association is dissolved ;

2. If, apart from cases of *force majeure*, the celebration of worship has ceased for more than six consecutive months ;

3. If the preservation of the building or of objects scheduled under the law of 1887, and Article 16 of the present law, is endangered by failure to keep them in repair ; and after a *mandamus* has been duly served by the municipal council or, in its default, by the prefect ;

4. If the association ceases

remplir son objet ou sies édifices sont détournés de leur destination ;

5° Si elle ne satisfait pas soit aux obligations de l'article 6 ou du dernier paragraphe du présent article, soit aux prescriptions relatives aux monuments historiques.

La désaffectation de ces immeubles pourra, dans les cas ci-dessus prévus, être prononcée par décret rendu en Conseil d'Etat. En dehors de ces cas, elle ne pourra l'être que par une loi.

Les immeubles autrefois affectés aux cultes et dans lesquels les cérémonies du culte n'auront pas été célébrées pendant le délai d'un an antérieurement à la présente loi, ainsi que ceux qui ne seront pas réclamés par une association cultuelle dans le délai de deux ans après sa promulgation, pourront être désaffectés par décret.

Il en est de même pour les édifices dont la désaffectation aura été demandée antérieurement au 1er juin 1905.

Les établissements publics du culte, puis les associations bénéficiaires seront tenus des réparations de toute nature, ainsi que des frais d'assurance et autres charges afférentes aux édifices et aux meubles les garnissant.

to fulfil its object, or if the buildings are diverted from their appointed use.

5. If the association fails to fulfil the obligations of Article 6 or of the last paragraph of the present Article or the enactments relating to historical monuments.

The secularisation of these buildings may, in the aforesaid cases, be decided by decree of the Council of State. Secularisation shall not be possible in any other case, otherwise than by a law.

Buildings heretofore appropriated to the different religions in which public worship shall not have been celebrated for a year previous to the present law, as well as those which shall not be claimed by a religious association within two years after its promulgation, may be secularised by decree.

The same shall hold good for buildings, the secularisation of which shall have been claimed before 1st June 1905.

The public religious establishments, and afterwards the beneficiary associations, shall be held responsible for repairs of every sort, as well as for the cost of insurance and other charges attaching to the buildings and their furniture and fittings.

The first paragraph ensures that the church shall in every case be granted to the association that receives the property under Articles 4 and 8.

The law of 1887 provides for the registration and protection of works of art and objects of historical interest.

Art. 14. Les archevêchés, évêchés, les presbytères et leurs dépendances, les grands séminaires et facultés de théologie protestante seront laissés gratuitement à la disposition des établissements publics du culte, puis des associations prévues à l'article 13, savoir : les archevêchés et les évêchés pendant une période de deux années ; les presbytères dans les communes où résidera le ministre du culte, les grands séminaires et facultés de théologie protestante, pendant cinq années à partir de la promulgation de la présente loi.

Les établissements et associations sont soumis, en ce qui concerne ces édifices, aux obligations prévues par le dernier paragraphe de l'article 13. Toutefois, ils ne seront pas tenus des grosses réparations.

La cessation de la jouissance des établissements et associations sera prononcée dans les conditions et suivant les formes déterminées par l'article 13. Les dispositions des paragraphes 3 et 5 du même article sont applicables aux édifices visés par le paragraphe 1er du présent article.

La distraction des parties superflues des presbytères laissés à la disposition des associations cultuelles pourra, pendant le délai prévu au paragraphe premier, être prononcée pour un service public par décret rendu en Conseil d'Etat.

A l'expiration des délais de jouissance gratuite, la libre disposition des édifices sera rendue à l'Etat, aux départements ou aux communes.

Art. 14. Archbishops' and bishops' houses, presbyteries, and their appurtenances, *grands séminaires* and Protestant theological colleges shall be left gratuitously at the disposal of the public religious establishments and afterwards of the associations indicated in Article 13, as follows : Archbishops' and bishops' houses for two years ; presbyteries in communes in which the minister of religion is resident, *grands séminaires* and Protestant theological colleges for five years from the date of the promulgation of the present law.

The establishments and associations are subject, in regard to these buildings, to the obligations provided for by the last paragraph of Article 13. They will not, however, be held responsible for structural repairs.

The cessation of possession by the establishments and associations shall be pronounced under the conditions and according to the forms laid down by Article 13. The provisions of paragraphs 3 and 5 of the same Article are applicable to the buildings indicated by paragraph 1 of the present Article.

The diversion for a public purpose of superfluous portions of the presbyteries left at the disposal of the religious associations may, during the period provided in paragraph 1, be pronounced by decree in Council of State.

At the expiration of the periods of gratuitous possession, the free disposal of the buildings shall revert to the State, the departments, and the communes.

Les indemnités de logement incombant actuellement aux communes, à défaut de presbytère, par application de l'article 136 de la loi du 5 avril 1884, resteront à leur charge pendant le délai de cinq ans. Elles cesseront de plein droit en cas de dissolution de l'association.

The cost of housing now falling upon the communes which have no presbytery, under Article 136 of the law of 5th April 1884, shall remain at their charge for a period of five years. In case of the dissolution of the association it shall lapse *ipso facto*.

There are two kinds of seminaries, the *petits séminaires* (which are Church property) where boys intended for the priesthood enter at the age of about 14, and the *grands séminaires* (which are public property), to which they proceed later, and which answer to theological colleges.

The public authorities will, of course, be able to let or sell the buildings mentioned in this Article to the religious bodies after the expiration of the periods of gratuitous use; and in most cases they will doubtless do so.

Art. 15. Dans les départements de la Savoie, de la Haute-Savoie et des Alpes-Maritimes, la jouissance des édifices antérieurs à la loi du 18 germinal an X., servant à l'exercice des cultes ou au logement de leurs ministres, sera, attribuée par les communes sur les territoires desquelles ils se trouvent, aux associations cultuelles, dans les conditions indiquées par les articles 12 et suivants de la présente loi. En dehors de ces obligations, les communes pourront disposer librement de la propriété de ces édifices.

Art. 15. In the departments of Savoie, Haute-Savoie, and the Alpes-Maritimes, the possession of buildings of a date anterior to the Law of 18 Germinal, Year X., which serve for the worship of the various religions and the housing of their ministers, shall be handed over by the communes of the districts in which they are situated to the religious associations, under the conditions indicated in Articles 12 and following of the present law. Outside these obligations the communes shall have the free disposal of the ownership of these buildings.

Dans ces mêmes départements, les cimetières resteront la propriété des communes.

In the same departments the cemeteries shall remain the property of the communes.

Art. 16. Il sera procédé à un classement complémentaire

Art. 16. A complementary schedule shall be made of

des édifices servant à l'exercice public du culte (cathédrales, églises, chapelles, temples, synagogues, archevêchés, evêchés, presbytères, séminaires), dans lequel devront être compris tous ceux de ces édifices représentant, dans leur ensemble ou dans leurs parties, une valeur artistique ou historique.

Les objets mobiliers ou les immeubles par destination mentionnés à l'article 13, qui n'auraient pas encore été inscrits sur la liste de classement dressée en vertu de la loi du 30 mars 1887, sont par l'effet de la présente loi, ajoutés à ladite liste. Il sera procédé par le ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts, dans le délai de trois ans, au classement définitif de ceux de ces objets dont la conservation présenterait, au point de vue de l'histoire ou de l'art, un intérêt suffisant. A l'expiration de ce délai, les autres objets seront déclassés de plein droit.

the buildings used for public worship and religious purposes (cathedrals, churches, chapels, temples, synagogues, archbishops' and bishops' houses, presbyteries, seminaries), in which shall be included all such buildings as have, as a whole or in part, an artistic or historical value.

The furniture or fixtures mentioned in Article 13 which have not yet been entered in the schedule, drawn up in virtue of the law of 30th March 1887, are by the effect of the present law added to the said schedule. The Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts shall within three years proceed to the definitive registration of such of these objects as have from the point of view of history or art sufficient interest to be preserved. At the expiration of that period the other objects shall *ipso facto* cease to be scheduled.

En outre, les immeubles et les objets mobiliers, attribués en vertu de la présente loi aux associations, pourront être classés dans les mêmes conditions que s'ils appartenaient à des établissements publics.

Il n'est pas dérogé, pour le surplus, aux dispositions de la loi du 30 mars 1887.

Les archives ecclésiastiques et bibliothèques existant dans les archévêchés, évêchés, grands séminaires, paroisses, succursales et leurs dépendances, seront inventoriées et celles qui seront reconnues propriété de l'Etat lui seront restituées.

Furthermore, the buildings and furniture assigned to the associations in pursuance of the present law may be scheduled under the same conditions as if they belonged to public institutions.

In other respects the provisions of the law of 30th March 1887 hold good.

The ecclesiastical archives and libraries in archbishops' and bishops' houses, *grands séminaires*, parish churches and chapels-of-ease, and their dependencies, shall be inventoried, and those which shall be recognised as the property of

Art. 17. Les immeubles par destination classés en vertu de la loi du 30 mars 1887 ou de la présente loi sont inaliénables et imprescriptibles.

Dans le cas où la vente ou l'échange d'un objet classé serait autorisé par le ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts, un droit de préemption est accordé : 1° aux associations cultuelles ; 2° aux communes ; 3° aux départements ; 4° aux musées et sociétés d'art et d'archéologie ; 5° à l'Etat. Le prix sera fixé par trois experts que désigneront le vendeur, l'acquéreur et le président du tribunal civil.

Si aucun des acquéreurs visés ci-dessus ne fait usage du droit de préemption la vente sera libre ; mais il est interdit à l'acheteur d'un objet classé de le transporter hors de France.

Nul travail de réparation, restauration ou entretien à faire aux monuments ou objets mobiliers classés ne peut être commencé sans l'autorisation du ministre des beaux-arts, ni exécuté hors de la surveillance de son administration, sous peine, contre les propriétaires, occupants ou détenteurs qui auraient ordonné ces travaux, the State shall be restored to it.

The stringent provisions of this and the following Article for the protection of ancient buildings and other works of art are urgently needed. The clergy have as a rule been very bad custodians, and churches have been ruthlessly stripped by those who should have guarded them.

Art. 17. Fixtures scheduled in pursuance of the law of 30th March 1887, or of the present law, are inalienable and imprescriptible.

In case the sale or exchange of a scheduled object shall have been authorised by the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, a right of pre-emption is granted: (1) To the religious associations; (2) to the communes; (3) to the departments; (4) to museums and societies of art and archæology; (5) to the State. The price shall be fixed by three experts nominated by the vendor, the purchaser, and the president of the civil court.

If any of the purchasers indicated above do not use their right of pre-emption, the sale shall be an open one; but the purchaser of a scheduled object is forbidden to transport it out of France.

No work in the way of repair or restoration or otherwise, required for buildings scheduled as monuments or for scheduled moveable objects, may be entered upon without the sanction of the Minister of Fine Arts, nor carried out except under the supervision of his department; and the proprietors, occupiers, or holders who shall have ordered

d'une amende de seize à quinze cents francs (16 à 1,500 fr.).

Toute infraction aux dispositions ci-dessus ainsi qu'à celles de l'article 16 de la présente loi et des articles 4, 10, 11, 12 et 13 de la loi du 30 mars 1887 sera punie d'une amende de cent à dix mille francs (100 à 10,000 fr.) et d'un emprisonnement de six jours à trois mois, ou de l'une de ces deux peines seulement.

La visite des édifices et l'exposition des objets mobiliers classés seront publiques ; elles ne pourront donner lieu à aucune taxe ni redevance.

such work shall be liable to a fine of 16 to 1,500 francs.

Every infraction of the above provisions, as also of those of Article 16 of the present law, and of Articles 4, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the law of 30th March 1887, shall be punished by a fine of 100 to 10,000 francs, and by an imprisonment of six days to three months, or by one or other of these penalties singly.

Scheduled buildings and moveable objects shall be open to the inspection of the public without any charge or fee.

The fourth paragraph of this Article is most valuable. Had there been such a provision in English law, our churches might have suffered less than they have from the "restorer."

Visitors to France should note that it is now illegal to make a charge for admission to an ancient church or inspection of its works of art.

TITRE IV

DES ASSOCIATIONS POUR L'EXERCICE DES CULTES

Art. 18. Les associations formées pour subvenir aux frais, à l'entretien et à l'exercice public d'un culte devront être constituées conformément aux articles 5 et suivants du titre premier de la loi du 1er juillet 1901. Elles seront en outre soumises aux prescriptions de la présente loi.

CHAPTER IV

ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE PRACTICE OF RELIGIONS

Art. 18. The associations formed to provide for the cost, maintenance, and public worship of a religion must be constituted in accordance with Articles 5 and following of Chapter I. of the law of 1st July 1901. They shall, moreover, be subject to the provisions of the present law.

The law of 1st July 1901 is commonly known as the "Associations Law." Chapter I. relates to ordinary associations, and its provisions are of a liberating character. The other part of the law, relating to religious Orders, does not apply to the new associations which, *e.g.*, do not require authorisa-

tion. They merely have to make a declaration in the form prescribed in Article 5 of the law of 1st July 1901; and they can be dissolved only by a judgment of a court of law under the conditions laid down in Article 23.

Art. 19. Ces associations devront avoir exclusivement pour objet l'exercice d'un culte et être composées au moins :—

Dans les communes de moins de 1,000 habitants, de sept personnes ;

Dans les communes de 1,000 à 20,000 habitants, de quinze personnes ;

Dans les communes dont le nombre des habitants est supérieur à 20,000, de vingt-cinq personnes majeures domiciliées ou résidant dans la circonscription religieuse.

Chacun de leurs membres pourra s'en retirer en tout temps, aprés payement des cotisations échues et de celles de l'année courante, nonobstant toute clause contraire.

Nonobstant toute clause contraire des statuts, les actes de gestion financière et d'administration légale des biens accomplis par les directeurs ou administrateurs seront, chaque année au moins, présentés au contrôle de l'assemblée générale des membres de l'association et soumis à son approbation.

Les associations pourront recevoir, en outre des cotisations prévues par l'article 6 de la loi du 1er juillet 1901, le produit des quêtes et collectes pour les frais du culte, percevoir des rétributions : pour les cérémonies et services religieux

Art. 19. These associations must have for their exclusive object the practice of a religion, and must have a *minimum* membership as follows :—

In communes of less than 1,000 inhabitants, seven persons ;

In communes of 1,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, fifteen persons ;

In communes the inhabitants of which number over 20,000, twenty-five adult persons, domiciled or resident within the ecclesiastical district.

Any of their members may retire at any time after payment of the subscriptions that are due, and of those of the current year, notwithstanding any clause to the contrary.

Notwithstanding any clause to the contrary in the statutes, the acts of financial management and of legal administration of the property carried out by the managers or directors shall be, at least once a year, presented to the control of the general meeting of the members of the association and submitted to its approval.

The associations shall be able to receive, in addition to the subscriptions provided for in Article 6 of the law of 1st July 1901, the product of alms and collections for the expenses of worship ; and to accept : donations for religious ceremonies

même par fondation ; pour la location des bancs et sièges ; pour la fourniture des objets destinés au service des funérailles dans les édifices religieux et à la décoration de ces édifices.

Elles pourront verser, sans donner lieu à perception de droits, le surplus de leurs recettes à d'autres associations constituées pour le même objet.

Elles ne pourront, sous quelque forme que ce soit recevoir des subventions de l'Etat, des départements ou des communes. Ne sont pas considérées comme subventions les sommes allouées pour réparations aux monuments classés.

and services even by foundations ; fees for the letting of benches and seats ; donations for the supply of objects for funeral services in religious buildings, and for the decoration of those buildings.

They may, without giving occasion to a collection of dues, give the surplus of their receipts to other associations formed for the same object.

They shall not be able, under any form whatsoever, to receive subventions from the State, the departments, or the communes. But those sums will not be considered as subventions which are allowed for the repair of registered monuments.

The powers conferred by the two paragraphs preceding the last are not possessed by other *associations déclarées* under the law of 1st July 1901. It should be noted that the last paragraph enables the State or the local authorities to provide funds for the repair of ancient cathedrals, churches and other ecclesiastical buildings.

Art. 20. Ces associations peuvent, dans les formes déterminées par l'article 7 du décret du 16 août 1901, constituer des unions ayant une administration ou une direction centrale ; ces unions seront réglées par l'article 18 et par les cinq derniers paragraphes de l'article 19 de la présente loi.

Art. 20. These associations may, under the forms prescribed by Article 7 of the decree of 16th August 1901, form unions having a central administration or directorate ; and these unions shall be regulated by Article 18, and by the last five paragraphs of Article 19 of the present law.

This Article will permit all the associations of any religion to be formed into one organisation for the whole country, if desired, or for any lesser area.

Art. 21. Les associations et les unions tiennent un état de leurs recettes et de leurs dépenses ; elles dressent chaque

Art. 21. The associations and unions shall keep an account of their receipts and expenditure ; they shall each

année le compte financier de l'année écoulée et l'état inventorié de leurs biens meubles et immeubles.

Le contrôle financier est exercé sur les associations et sur les unions par l'administration de l'enregistrement et par l'inspection générale des finances.

Art. 22. Les associations et unions peuvent employer leurs ressources disponibles à la constitution d'un fonds de réserve suffisant pour assurer les frais et l'entretien du culte et ne pouvant en aucun cas recevoir une autre destination ; le montant de cette réserve ne pourra jamais dépasser une somme égale, pour les unions et associations ayant plus de cinq mille francs (5,000 fr.) de revenu, à trois fois, et pour les autres associations à six fois la moyenne annuelle des sommes dépensées par chacune d'elles pour les frais du culte pendant les cinq derniers exercices.

Indépendamment de cette réserve, qui devra être placée en valeurs nominatives, elles pourront constituer une réserve spéciale dont les fonds devront être déposés, en argent ou en titres nominatifs, à la Caisse des dépôts et consignations, pour être exclusivement affectés, y compris les intérêts, à l'achat, à la construction, à la décoration ou à la réparation d'immeubles ou meubles destinés aux besoins de l'association ou de l'union.

Art. 23. Seront punis d'une amende de seize francs (16 fr.) à deux cents francs (200 fr.), et en cas de récidive, d'une

year draw up a balance sheet for the past year, and an inventory of their property real and personal.

Financial control over the associations and unions shall be exercised by the Inland Revenue Department and the General Inspectorate of Finance.

Art. 22. The associations and unions may employ their available resources in the formation of a reserve fund sufficient to ensure the expenses and maintenance of the religion which may not in any case be diverted to other purposes ; the total of this reserve may never, in the case of unions and associations with an annual income of more than 5,000 francs, be more than three times, and in the case of other associations more than six times the annual average of the sums expended by each of them on the expenses of their religion during the previous five financial years.

Independently of this reserve, which must be invested in registered stock, they shall be empowered to form a special reserve, the funds of which must be deposited in money or registered securities at the Government Bank of Deposits, to be exclusively employed, along with the interest accruing thereon, in the purchase, construction, decoration, or repair of real or personal property for the use of the association or union.

Art. 23. The managers or directors of an association or union who shall have contravened Articles 18, 19, 20, 21, or

amende double, les directeurs ou administrateurs d'une association ou d'une union qui auront contrevenu aux articles 18, 19, 20, 21 et 22.

Les tribunaux pourront, dans le cas d'infraction au paragraphe premier de l'article 22, condamner l'association ou l'union à verser l'excédent constaté aux établissements communaux d'assistance ou de bienfaisance.

Ils pourront, en outre, dans tous les cas prévus au paragraphe premier du présent article, prononcer la dissolution de l'association ou de l'union.

22 shall be liable to a fine of 16 to 200 francs and in the case of a second offence to a fine double that amount.

The Courts shall be empowered, in case of infraction of the first paragraph of Article 22, to condemn the association or union to hand over any excess to the communal institutions for poor relief or to public charities.

They may also, in all cases provided for in the first paragraph of the present Article, declare the dissolution of the association or union.

This Article lays down the only circumstances in which a religious association can be compulsorily dissolved. It is left to the option of the Court to pronounce dissolution or not.

Art. 24. Les édifices affectés à l'exercice du culte appartenant à l'Etat, aux départements ou aux communes continueront à être exemptés de l'impôt foncier et de l'impôt des portes et fenêtres.

Les édifices servant au logement des ministres des cultes, les séminaires, les facultés de théologie protestante qui appartiennent à l'Etat, aux départements ou aux communes, les biens qui sont la propriété des associations et unions sont soumis aux mêmes impôts que ceux des particuliers.

Les associations et unions ne sont en aucun cas assujetties à la taxe d'abonnement ni à celle imposée aux cercles par l'article 33 de la loi du 8 août 1890, pas plus qu'à l'impôt de 4 o/o sur le revenu établi par

Art. 24. Buildings appropriated to public worship which belong to the State, the departments, or the communes, shall continue to be free from land-tax and the door and window-tax.

Buildings which serve for the housing of ministers of religion, seminaries, and faculties of Protestant theology which belong to the State, the departments, or the communes, and the property belonging to the associations or unions are subject to the same taxes as those belonging to private persons.

The associations and unions are not in any case subject to the *taxe d'abonnement*, nor to that imposed on clubs by Article 33 of the law of 8th August 1890, nor to the four per cent. income-tax established

les lois du 28 décembre 1880 et du 29 décembre 1884.

by the laws of 28th December 1880, and of 29th December 1884.

The *taxe d'abonnement* is a special tax imposed on corporations, chiefly to take the place of death duties.

TITRE V

POLICE DES CULTES

Art. 25. Les réunions pour la célébration d'un culte tenues dans les locaux appartenant à une association cultuelle ou mis à sa disposition sont publiques. Elles sont dispensées des formalités de l'article 8 de la loi du 30 juin 1881, mais restent placées sous la surveillance des autorités dans l'intérêt de l'ordre public. Elles ne peuvent avoir lieu qu'après une déclaration faite dans les formes de l'article 2 de la même loi et indiquant le local dans lequel elles seront tenues.

Une seule déclaration suffit pour l'ensemble des réunions permanentes périodiques ou accidentelles qui auront lieu dans l'année.

Art. 26. Il est interdit de tenir des réunions politiques dans les locaux servant habituellement à l'exercice d'un culte.

CHAPTER V

REGULATIONS OF PUBLIC WORSHIP

Art. 25. Assemblies for the celebration of worship held in places belonging to a religious association or placed at its disposal must be public. They are dispensed from the formalities of Article 8 of the law of 30th June 1881, but they remain subject to the supervision of the authorities in the interest of public order. They may be held only after a declaration has been made according to the forms prescribed by Article 2 of the same law naming the place in which they are to be held.

A single declaration is sufficient for the whole of the regular, periodical, or occasional assemblies held during the year.

Article 8 of the law of 30th June 1881 relates to public meetings. The effect of the present Article is that places of worship will have to be annually registered as such.

Any religious body that did not form associations could, of course, hold private services or services to which the public were admitted, but these latter would be subject to the ordinary conditions of public assemblies.

Art. 26. It is forbidden to hold political meetings in places regularly used for public worship.

Art. 27. Les cérémonies, processions et autres manifestations extérieures d'un culte continueront à être réglées en conformité des articles 95 et 97 de la loi municipale du 5 avril 1884.

Les sonneries de cloches seront réglées par un arrêté municipal, et en cas de désaccord entre le maire et le président ou directeur de l'association cultuelle, par arrêté préfectoral.

Le règlement d'administration publique prévu par l'article 43 de la présente loi déterminera les conditions et les cas dans lesquels les sonneries civiles pourront avoir lieu.

Art. 28. Il est interdit, à l'avenir, d'élever ou d'apposer aucun signe ou emblème religieux sur les monuments publics ou en quelque emplacement public que ce soit, à l'exception des edifices servant au culte, des terrains de sépulture dans les cimetières, des monuments funéraires, ainsi que des musées ou expositions.

Art. 29. Les contraventions aux articles précédents sont punies des peines de simple police.

Sont passibles de ces peines, dans le cas des articles 25, 26 et 27, ceux qui ont organisé la réunion ou manifestation, ceux qui y ont participé en qualité

Art. 27. Ceremonies, processions, and other out-door demonstrations of religion shall continue to be regulated according to Articles 95 and 96 of the municipal law of 5th April 1884.

The ringing of bells shall be regulated by municipal decree and, in case of disagreement between the mayor and the president or manager of the association, by order of the prefect.

The public administrative bye-law provided for by Article 43 of the present law shall lay down the conditions and the cases in which ringing shall take place for civil purposes.

The present law in regard to out-door religious processions, etc., which is maintained by this Article, gives the mayor or the prefect the power to veto them if they threaten to lead to disorder.

Art. 28. It is forbidden for the future to erect or fix any religious sign or emblem on public monuments or in any public place whatsoever, with the exception of buildings used for worship, places of burial in cemeteries, monuments of the dead, and museums or exhibitions.

This provision is considered by many French people to be unreasonable. It does not, of course, involve the removal of existing emblems.

Art. 29. Contraventions of the foregoing Articles shall be punished by simple police penalties.

In the case of Articles 25, 26 and 27, those who have organised the meeting or demonstration, those who have taken part in it as ministers of religion,

de ministres du culte, et dans le cas des articles 25 et 26, ceux qui ont fourni le local.

Art. 30. Conformément aux dispositions de l'article 2 de la loi du 28 mars 1882, l'enseignement religieux ne peut être donné aux enfants âgés de six à treize ans, inscrits dans les écoles publiques, qu'en dehors des heures de classe.

Il sera fait application aux ministres des cultes qui enfreindraient ces prescriptions, des dispositions de l'article 14 de la loi précitée.

Art. 31. Seront punis d'une amende de seize francs (16 fr.) à deux cents francs (200 fr.) et d'un emprisonnement de six jours à deux mois ou de l'une de ces deux peines seulement ceux qui, soit par voies de fait, violences ou menaces contre un individu, soit en lui faisant craindre de perdre son emploi ou d'exposer à un dommage sa personne, sa famille ou sa fortune, l'auront déterminé à exercer ou à s'abstenir d'exercer un culte, à faire partie ou à cesser de faire partie d'une association cultuelle, à contribuer ou à s'abstenir de contribuer aux frais d'un culte.

Art. 32. Seront punis des mêmes peines ceux qui auront empêché, retardé ou interrompu les exercices d'un culte par des troubles ou désordres causés dans le local servant à ces exercices.

Art. 33. Les dispositions des deux articles précédents ne s'appliquent qu'aux troubles, outrages ou voies de fait, dont la nature ou les circonstances

and in the case of Articles 25 and 26, those who have supplied the place of meeting shall be liable to these penalties.

Art. 30. In accordance with the provisions of Article 2 of the law of 28th March 1882, religious teaching may be given to children between the ages of six and thirteen on the registers of the public schools only outside school hours.

The provisions of Article 14 of the law above mentioned shall be applied to ministers of religion infringing these prescriptions.

Art. 31. A fine of from 16 to 200 francs and imprisonment of six days to two months or one of these penalties singly will be inflicted on those who by assault, violence, or threats against an individual, or by making him fear the loss of his employment, or by exposing his person, family, or fortune to injury, shall have determined him to practise or refrain from practising a religion, to join or leave a religious association, to contribute or abstain from contributing to the maintenance of a religion.

Art. 32. The same penalties shall be inflicted on those who shall have hindered, delayed, or interrupted the services of a religion by brawling or disorder in the place used for those services.

Art. 33. The provisions of the two foregoing Articles apply only to those disorders, outrages, or assaults the nature or circumstances of which shall not call

ne donneront pas lieu à de plus fortes peines d'après les dispositions du Code pénal.

Art. 34. Tout ministre d'un culte qui, dans les lieux où s'exerce ce culte, aura publiquement, par des discours prononcés, des lectures faites, des écrits distribués ou des affiches apposées, outragé ou diffamé un citoyen chargé d'un service public, sera puni d'une amende de cinq cents francs à trois mille francs (500 fr. à 3,000 fr.) et d'un emprisonnement de un mois à un an, ou de l'une de ces deux peines seulement.

La vérité du fait diffamatoire, mais seulement s'il est relatif aux fonctions, pourra être établie devant le tribunal correctionnel dans les formes prévues par l'article 52 de la loi du 29 juillet 1881. Les prescriptions édictées par l'article 65 de la même loi s'appliquent aux délits du présent article et de l'article qui suit.

Art. 35. Si un discours prononcé ou un écrit affiché ou distribué publiquement dans les lieux où s'exerce le culte, contient une provocation directe à résister à l'exécution des lois ou aux actes légaux de l'autorité publique, ou s'il tend à soulever ou à armer une partie des citoyens contre les autres, le ministre du culte qui s'en sera rendu coupable sera puni d'un emprisonnement de trois mois à deux ans, sans préjudice des peines de la complicité, dans le cas où la provocation aurait été suivie d'une sédition, révolte ou guerre civile.

for the severer penalties of the Penal Code.

Art. 34. Any minister of religion who, in the places in which the services of such religion are held, shall, by discourse delivered, by reading, by distribution or placarding of written or printed notices, have publicly insulted or defamed a citizen holding a public office, shall be punished with a fine of 500 to 3,000 francs, and an imprisonment of a month to a year, or one of these penalties singly.

Justification of the slander, provided only that it relates to the official capacity of the person defamed, may be pleaded before the correctional court in the form provided by Article 52 of the law of 29th July 1884. The provisions of Article 65 of the same law apply to offences under the present and the following Article.

Art. 35. If a discourse delivered or a document placarded or publicly distributed in the places in which worship is held, contains a direct provocation to resist the execution of the laws or the legal acts of public authority, or tends to arouse or arm one section of the citizens against the others, the minister of religion who shall be guilty of it shall be punished with an imprisonment of three months to two years, without prejudice to the penalties of complicity in cases wherein the provocation may have been followed by sedition, revolt, or civil war.

It should be noted that this and the

previous Article refer only to action in a place of worship. Ministers of religion are subject to no special regulations outside their churches.

Art. 36. Dans le cas de condamnation par les tribunaux de simple police ou de police correctionnelle, en application des articles 25 et 26, 34 et 35, l'association constituée pour l'exercice du culte dans l'immeuble où l'infraction a été commise sera civilement responsable.

Art. 36. In the case of a condemnation by the police or correctional courts, under Articles 25 and 26, 34, and 35, the association established for the practice of religion in the building where the infraction has been committed shall be civilly responsible.

TITRE VI

DISPOSITIONS GÉNÉRALES

Art. 37. L'article 463 du Code pénal et la loi du 26 mars 1891 sont applicables à tous les cas dans lesquels la présente loi édicte des pénalités.

Art. 38. Les congrégations religieuses demeurent soumises aux lois des 1er juillet 1901, 4 décembre 1902 et 7 juillet 1904.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL REGULATIONS

Art. 37. Article 463 of the Penal Code and the law of 26th March 1891 are applicable to all cases in which the present law provides penalties.

Art. 38. The religious congregations shall remain subject to the laws of 1st July 1901, 4th December 1902, and 7th July 1904.

By "religious congregations" is meant the religious Orders, and the laws referred to are the Associations Law and complementary statutes.

Art. 39. Les jeunes gens qui ont obtenu à titre d'élèves ecclésiastiques la dispense prévue par l'article 23 de la loi du 15 juillet 1889, continueront à en bénéficier conformément à l'article 99 de la loi du 21 mars 1905, à la condition qu'à l'âge de vingt-six ans ils soient pouvus d'un emploi de ministre du culte rétribué par une association cultuelle et sous

Art. 39. Young men who as ecclesiastical students have obtained the dispensation allowed by Article 23 of the law of 15th July 1889, shall continue to benefit by it according to Article 99 of the law of 21st March 1905, on condition that at the age of twenty-six years they are provided with a ministerial appointment salaried by a religious association and subject to con-

réserve des justifications qui seront fixées par un règlement d'administration publique.

Art. 40. Pendant huit années à partir de la promulgation de la présente loi, les ministres du culte seront inéligibles au conseil municipal dans les communes où ils exerceront leur ministère ecclésiastique.

Art. 41. Les sommes rendues disponibles chaque années par la suppression du budget des cultes seront réparties entre les communes au prorata du contingent de la contribution foncière des propriétés non bâties qui leur aura été assigné pendant l'exercice qui précédera la promulgation de la présente loi.

Art. 42. Les dispositions légales relatives aux jours actuellement fériés sont maintenues.

Art. 43. Un règlement d'administration publique rendu dans les trois mois qui suivront la promulgation de la présente loi déterminera les mesures propres à assurer son application.

Des règlements d'administration publique détermineront les conditions dans lesquelles la présente loi sera applicable à l'Algérie et aux colonies.

ditions to be fixed by a public administrative bye-law.

The dispensation referred to is from military service.

Art. 40. For eight years from the promulgation of the present law, ministers of religion shall not be eligible for the municipal council in the communes in which they exercise their ecclesiastical functions.

Art. 41. The sums made available each year by the suppression of the Budget of Religions, shall be divided between the communes in proportion to the amount of land-tax on vacant land which shall have been assigned to them during the financial year preceding the promulgation of the present law.

Art. 42. The legal provisions relating to days which are at present public holidays shall remain in force.

Art. 43. A Public Administrative Bye-law drawn up within the three months after the promulgation of the present law, shall lay down the measures proper to ensure its application.

Public Administrative Bye-laws shall lay down the conditions under which the present law shall be carried out in Algeria and the Colonies.

This Article follows the usual practice in French legislation. The Bye-law, which was promulgated on 16th March 1906, contains 53 Articles, divided into four Chapters. Its effect is to maintain and even extend (so far as is possible) the liberty of action given to the Churches by the Law.

Art. 44. Sont et demeurent abrogées toutes les dispositions relatives à l'organisation publique des cultes antérieurement reconnus par l'Etat, ainsi que toutes dispositions contraires à la présente loi et notamment :—

1° La loi du 18 germinal an X., portant que la convention passée le 26 messidor an IX. entre le pape et le gouvernement français, ensemble les articles organiques de ladite convention et des cultes protestants, seront exécutés comme des lois de la République ;

2° Le décret du 26 mars 1852 et la loi du 1er août 1879 sur les cultes protestants ;

3° Les décrets du 17 mars 1808, la loi du 8 février 1831 et l'ordonnance du 25 mai 1844 sur le culte israélite ;

4° Les décrets des 22 décembre 1812 et 19 mars 1859 ;

5° Les articles 201 à 208, 260 à 264, 294 du Code pénal ;

6° Les articles 100 et 101, les paragraphes 11 et 12 de l'article 136 et l'article 167 de la loi du 5 avril 1884 ;

7° Le décret du 30 décembre 1809 et l'article 78 de la loi du 26 janvier 1892.

Art. 44. All enactments relating to the public organisation of the religions previously recognised by the State, as well as all enactments contrary to the present law, are hereby repealed, and notably :—

1. The Law of 18 Germinal, Year X., providing that the Convention passed on 26 Messidor, Year IX., between the Pope and the French Government, together with the Organic Articles of the said Convention and of the Protestant religions, shall be carried out as laws of the Republic ;

2. The decree of 26th March 1852, and the law of 1st August 1879, on the Protestant religions ;

3. The decrees of 17th March 1808, the law of 8th February 1831, and the ordinance of 25th May 1844, on the Jewish religion ;

4. The decrees of 22nd December 1812, and 19th March 1859 ;

5. Articles 201 to 208, 260 to 264, and 294 of the Penal Code ;

6. Articles 100 and 101, paragraphs 11 and 12 of Article 126 and Article 167 of the law of 5th April 1884 ;

7. The decree of 30th December 1809, and Article 78 of the law of 26th January 1892.

The Convention of 26 Messidor, Year IX. (*i.e.* 26th September 1801), is, of course, the Concordat. This Article, as has already been said, repeals all existing restrictions and regulations on religious bodies without exception other than the very few cases in which they are explicitly re-enacted in the present law (*e.g.* Article 27).

APPENDIX II

AN INTERVIEW WITH A SOUL IN PURGATORY

THE issues of the *Semaine Religieuse* of Cambrai for the 4th, 11th and 18th of November 1905 show that Mgr. Delassus has been encouraged by the approval given in exalted quarters to his previous efforts, to continue his excursions into the nether-world. This time, however, it is purgatory, not hell, that claims his attention. He prints in these three numbers, under the appropriate title of "*Variétés*," what purports to be an exact and authentic account of purgatory, given by one who has been there. The lady interviewed is a deceased nun of the convent of the Ladies of the Visitation of St Mary, at Saint-Céré, called Sister Mary-Sophia, who, accompanied by her guardian angel, spent several days in the cell of a living member of the community, Sister Margaret-Mary, and apparently submitted to a searching examination on the part of the latter, who reports the result. It is true that the interview took place some years ago, namely, in 1863, and we are not told whether the interviewer wrote shorthand, or what other means she took to secure an accurate report, but it is said that she wrote down her account of the prolonged interview immediately after the return of her colleague to the other world. The interview occupies many pages of the *Semaine Religieuse*, and it is unnecessary to give it in full, but some selected specimens of the questions and answers will be sufficient to show the kind of mental pabulum provided for the faithful of the diocese of Cambrai. A naïve statement by Sister Margaret-Mary, which is appended to the interview, must first be quoted in full:—

"Our worthy confessor, the Abbé Augusson, asked me twice in confession whether I would take an oath that what I saw

and heard was true. I replied that I would; that, after that, if I were deceived, I should deceive others; but that, as for taking an oath that I believed it all to be true, I would do so without hesitation."

Here are some of the questions and answers:—

Q. Where is purgatory?

R. In the centre of the earth, close to hell.

Q. Are there many residences in purgatory?

R. There are three, and in each are a large number of divisions, according as the soul is more or less guilty.

Q. In which residence are you?

R. In the middle one.

Q. Do people always stay in the same residence, or are they moved from one to another as their sins are expiated?

R. So far as I am concerned, I have always stayed in the same residence.

Q. Do you know whether, in the residence nearest to hell, they hear the shrieks of the damned?

R. No, they do not, except in the case of some of the more guilty souls who hear them by divine permission.

Q. Are there many people in purgatory?

R. Yes, a great many; picture to yourself a fair; it is crowded, packed.

Q. I am surprised that my poor mother has stayed so long in purgatory [*this refers to previous information*]; I thought she was in heaven long ago.

R. You ought not to be surprised at that; seventeen years is a very long time, it is true; but there are souls who have been kept there for two or three hundred years.

Q. And are there many nuns?

R. Yes, a large number; but none of those who have kept their rule. [*I.e., they go straight to heaven, as a matter of course!*]

Q. What are the sins most severely punished in purgatory?

R. Failure in obedience and grumbling against superiors; God punishes the latter with great severity. [*The ethics of this reply are delightfully characteristic.*]

Q. What sufferings do the demons inflict on the souls in purgatory?

R. They have no power to injure them ; but they give them a great deal of suffering by reproaching them with their sins, or by simply showing themselves to them.

Q. Do the souls in purgatory pray and carry on conversation? What is, in fact, their occupation?

R. Yes, they pray ; they say mentally the *Pater* and *Ave* and other prayers for those who are interested in them. They never speak ; there is a profound silence, only one hears sometimes groans extracted by the severity of the pain ; but, nevertheless, they are always calm and resigned. Their occupation is to love God and to accomplish His will, in order to be more and more united to Him.

Q. Is the favour attached to the sabbatine Indulgence effective? [*This is the Indulgence attached to the wearing of the brown Carmelite scapular ; those who gain it will be fetched out of purgatory by Our Lady on the Saturday after their death!*]

R. The Indulgence is true ; but it rarely has its effect on account of the obstacles that people put in its way.

Q. Is the fire visible in purgatory?

R. Yes. Imagine a limekiln of which the walls and the roof are nothing but fire. You will understand that one is roasted ; nevertheless, certain souls there endure a glacial cold.

Q. My Sister, did you get the advantage of the five Masses that were said for you?

R. No ; only of three.

Q. And has the Mass that M. l'Abbé told me he would say for you been applied to you?

R. (With an air of embarrassment) No. (The Abbé had told me to ask this question, and had not yet said the Mass : but that was his secret.)

Q. What is the cause of the great light that I saw in the night, before you came to talk to me?

R. It was a sign to tell you that I had need of prayers.

Q. How did you get the religious costume? Is the cross silver, the habit woollen, the *guimpe* linen? What will you do with them when you go to heaven?

R. (The Sister laughed as she said this.) Oh! don't be uneasy, I shall have no difficulty about that. All this is only an aerial body, a phantasm.

Q. You say that you have an aerial body ; but, in that case,

how is it that when I gave you holy water, my three fingers that touched yours were burnt?

R. God permitted it to give you a sign, and be sure that the pain which you felt then was nothing in comparison with what I am suffering.

Q. Will your purgatory soon be finished?

Here the interviewer continues :—I heard a voice which was not that of Sister Mary-Sophia, but which seemed to come from her right, and from a person who was her superior, and who said to me in a tone of authority: "Pray, and tell the others to pray and offer some intentions at Holy Communion."

I was so terrified that I rushed away as fast as possible; I thought I should never find the door of the cell. Sister Mary-Sophia called out to me: "Do not be afraid, Sister," but I heard nothing and fled at a gallop.

The next day, however, I was a little reassured, and came back to ask Sister Mary-Sophia some more questions. First:

Q. What was that voice yesterday that told me to pray for you, and offer some intentions for you at Holy Communion?

R. It was the voice of my guardian angel. You should not have run off so quickly: if you had stayed, he would no doubt have told you something else.

Further on we come to the following question and answer :—

Q. What gives the most prompt relief to the souls in purgatory?

R. First, the holy sacrifice of the Mass and Holy Communion: next, indulgences. The observance by religious of their rule also gives them great consolation.

Before departing to heaven Sister Mary-Sophia gives Sister Margaret-Mary an instruction on the Mass, in the course of which she declares (among other extravagances) that prayer offered during the consecration in the Mass will enable a soul in "a state of mortal sin" to "go away justified." This seems to have been too much even for Mgr. Delassus, who adds in a footnote the explanatory words "by perfect contrition." No doubt: but Sister Mary-Sophia does not say so.

We have also a dialogue between the Mother Superior of the convent and Sister Margaret-Mary, in which the latter gives a ludicrous description of the personal appearance of Sister Mary-Sophia down to her finger-nails.

Subsequently, we are told, Sister Margaret-Mary's deceased mother called on her on her way from purgatory to heaven (that is, from the centre of the earth to the sky, the Ptolemaic astronomy being apparently still in vogue in the diocese of Cambrai) and had long conversations with her on the 3rd and 25th of July 1863. These, however, Mgr. Delassus does not transcribe, as he says they would "teach" his readers "hardly anything further." He states, however, that on the occasion of the second visit the apparition touched one of the scars on Sister Margaret-Mary's hands and healed it immediately, the other two remaining as before.

The interview is accompanied by certificates dated 21st and 26th July 1863, and signed by a Dr Maury, to the effect that one of the Sister's burnt fingers healed spontaneously and suddenly, whereas the others remained scarred, but the scars fell off from time to time, and were immediately replaced by others exactly like them.

The certificates are, of course, intended to assist the credulous to accept this collection of mediæval fantasies as a genuine revelation. Nor will that be difficult, since the interview only represents what is taught in convent schools as being, for all practical purposes, of faith.

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